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THE

MAY 1955

ISLAMIC REVIEW

WOKING LEVEL ONE
EDITED BY
LATE AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

WOKING ENGLAND





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No. XIX of 1949, and sponsored by the Government of Pakistan.
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ESTABLISHED 1949



Authorised Capital	... Pak Rs.	6,00,00,000
Issued and Subscribed...	Pak Rs.	6,00,00,000
Paid-up Pak Rs.	1,50,00,000
Reserve Fund (31.12.54)	Pak Rs.	50,00,000
Deposits (31.12.54)	... Pak Rs.	33,02,66,095



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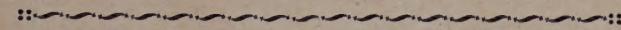
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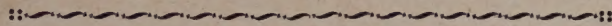
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Continued on page 3

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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The picture on the Cover is that of the beautiful façade of the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, Pakistan, executed in red stone and marble. It was built by the great Moghul emperor, Aurangzeb (d. 1707 C.E.).

THE CONTRIBUTORS

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★

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★

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★

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The Islamic Review

MAY : 1955

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AGENT IN KASHMIR

Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free; single copies Rs. 1/11

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The Islamic Review

Founded by THE LATE AL-HAJJ KHAWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking,

Telephone: WOKING 679 Surrey, England

Telegrams and Cables: MOSQUE, WOKING

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُصَلِّي عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLIII No. 5

MAY, 1955

Ramadhan—Shawwal, 1374 A.H.

POLYGAMY AND THE MODERN MUSLIM WORLD

Polygamy in Islam can truly be regarded as one of the formidable reproaches which Muslims contend with when the opponents of their social system carp at them, not necessarily always malevolently. To some of these critics Islam is a man's religion in which woman occupies an inferior place. No matter where you are and what you do to defend or rationalize polygyny in the light of modern sociological development in the world of Islam, it still remains a potent weapon in the hands of the detractors of Islam, and especially its propounder, the Prophet Muhammad. It would not be so bad if things stopped at that. But what is more disturbing is that this state of affairs is becoming a serious obstacle in the way of understanding the values of Islam as a social system both to Muslims and non-Muslims. To add insult to injury, as it were, there are the deeds of some prominent men in the Muslim world which tend to confound matters more than ever before. In these circumstances, it is indeed not difficult to imagine the discouragement, even frustration, of Muslim social workers which results from this attitude of the world to Islamic values.

The recent plural marriage of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and that of President Sukarno of Indonesia have not, to say the least, helped improve the situation. For the reaction of the non-Muslim world is that the Muslim claim to Islam as being a possible and suitable social system for the modern world is doomed once for all. To know this is disappointing, indeed. But there is a bright side to the picture which is worthwhile taking notice of here. We refer to the awakening in Muslim womanhood about its proper place in Muslim society.

In Pakistan and Egypt the ever-increasing vocal section of Muslim womanhood has vehemently questioned the validity of the right of men to contract a plural marriage. Recently the question of the status of women in Islam was discussed at a Conference organized by the Karachi Branch of the All-Pakistan Women's Association. On 23rd February 1955 the Conference expressed the view that polygamy as practised at present in Pakistan was contrary to the spirit of Islam. In Indonesia last year a similar stand on polygamy was taken by women there. The Government of Egypt in the beginning of last year, sensing the trend of modern thought current among the vocal section of its womenfolk, proposed the introduction of legislation which aimed at limiting the male prerogative of contracting a plural marriage. Although nothing definite has as yet been done in this respect by the Egyptian Government, there are reasons to believe that the strength of the ever-growing voice of the feminist movement in the affairs of that country will soon compel the Government to take a decision to satisfy its demands. In Pakistan the Conference of the All-Pakistan Women's Association on the status of the Pakistan women adopted the reports of the five groups on family law, educational facilities, economic rights, political rights and the responsibilities of women in the family and community.

The family law group by a majority decided in favour of restricted polygamy, second marriage being permissible after a decree from a court of law. The group recommended that no court should grant such a decree unless it was satisfied that (a) it was medically proved that the wife was incapable of bearing children; (b) she had been insane for two years; (c) she was suffering from a disease which had incapacitated her for normal living; and (d) the husband declared his intention to treat the two wives equally.

The members of the group also urged social boycott of second wives, parents of such wives and their relations in order to discourage the prevalent practice of polygamy.

In the case of divorce, it was recommended that the divorcee should be entitled to alimony to the extent of one-fourth of the husband's income till her re-marriage or death.

The repercussions of the plural marriages of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and President Sukarno of Indonesia in their respective countries apart, it can be said with certainty that they have intensified the search for a true understanding of the laws of Islam in regard to marriage, polygamy and divorce. They have also focused the attention on the fact that women in the world of Islam have not been getting a fair deal in the matter of general treatment at the hands of Muslim society and that a distinct discrimination has always been allowed to work against them. Consequently Muslims as a community have become aware that a fresh approach to this social problem should be made, that the outlook on the status of women in Islam should be re-orientated, and that women should be rehabilitated in the fullest human dignity on a par with men. This tendency not only deserves to be encouraged but also is in consonance with what the Qur'an ordains. Further, it is being realized that it is the local traditions and customs, selfishness and abuse of the Qur'an by man who interpreted them to serve his sensual desires that are responsible for the present discriminative customs and practices against women in Muslim countries. The time has now come when all those rights which are a Muslim woman's should be restored to her, especially in the matter of divorce and marriage.

It cannot be emphasized overmuch that from a material as well as a spiritual point of view Islam recognizes the position of woman to be the same as that of man. Good works bring the same reward whether the doer is a male or a female (The Qur'an, 3 : 194). This and similar verses in the Qur'an should be made the guiding principles in removing the blemishes from the fair face of Islam, which are the direct result of the malpractices of Muslim men right through the last few hundred centuries of the existence of Islam. Muslims must restore to the Muslim woman her personality.

In talking of the personality of woman in Islam it is but right to remind ourselves that by entering the married state woman does not lose any of the rights which she possesses as an individual member of Muslim society. She is still free to carry on any work she likes, to make any contract she desires, to dispose of her property as she wishes; nor is her individuality merged in that of her husband. The only difference that takes place is that upon her marriage she undertakes new responsibilities of life which carry with them new rights (The Qur'an, 2 : 228).

In the end let it be said that the institution of polygyny in Islam, both in theory and in practice, is an exception, not a rule, and as an exception it is a remedy for many of the evils of modern civilization, such as prostitution with its concomitant evil of bastardy. The abuse by the rich of polygyny which has brought Islam as a religious social system into disrepute can be easily remedied by the Muslim States in placing legal limitation upon its practice on the lines suggested by the All-Pakistan Women's Association. Such a legislation is neither against the Qur'an, nor does it run counter to the views of eminent Muslim religious authorities like Muhammad 'Abduh, who held that polygyny should be prohibited by law in Muslim countries and allowed only under certain contingencies.

اللَّهُ

نُورُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ

(God is the Light of the heavens and the earth)

“SEEK YOUR FORTUNES IN WHAT THE EARTH HIDES”

(A Saying of Muhammad)

By Muhammad al-Tanji

The fear of hunger

The population of the world is steadily increasing, and this increase is giving many headaches to economic planners who fear that the horrifying shadow of hunger is drawing near. The potentialities of the earth are limited, and for this reason there is great need of proper exploitation of the resources of the soil so that the greatest quantity of food is produced to feed the ever-increasing population of the world. Modern science has given great attention to this problem, and research is being carried out by energetic scientists all over the world to find out the best means of increasing the agricultural potentialities of the earth and protecting plants and vegetation. A special international organization, the World Food and Agricultural Organization, was formed not many years ago and charged with finding a solution for this grave problem.

Islam encourages agriculture and farming

Islam, which concerns itself not only with the spiritual welfare of man but also with his worldly and material welfare, has devoted its attention to this grave problem of the shortage of food. The Qur'an says: "And there is for you in the earth an abode and a provision for a time" (2:36; 7:24). This means that man is enjoined to work hard on this earth and to make proper use of its resources; for it would be impossible for him to make his abode in the earth without ensuring that he will be able to survive by food. A saying of the Prophet Muhammad reported by al-Tirmidzi runs: "Seek your fortunes in what the earth hides". The companions and friends of the Prophet Muhammad used to work hard on tending their palm-trees in Medina, and the Prophet used to encourage them very much to apply their efforts zealously and enthusiastically to agriculture and

farming. He explained to them that such work would earn for them the pleasure and blessing of God, and that in the eyes of God all those who planted trees or sowed the seeds of edible vegetation were engaged in charitable acts, although they later derived the benefit of their acts by selling their products for value. The Imam Muslim reports from Jabir Ibn 'Abdullah that the Prophet Muhammad said: "If a Muslim plants a plant or grows vegetation and another man or animal eats from it, then the Muslim earns a reward from God". Thus, a Muslim who grows any vegetation will not only reap a financial or economic reward from his act but will also qualify for a reward from God. The reason for this is that the planting of any edible vegetation is considered an act of great social importance which benefits not only the person who undertakes it but also society as a whole as well as the animal kingdom. By engaging in agriculture and farming the Muslim would be helping to fulfil the words of God Who says that man would have an abode in this earth for a while.

The opinions of the jurists on the subject

Agriculture, industry and commerce are the three main pillars of any developed or progressive society. All these three occupations have been commended as useful and necessary occupations to the Muslims. The Muslim jurists during the early days of Islam differed among themselves as to what was the most honourable and commendable occupation for a Muslim from among these three occupations. In my view, however, there is a preponderance of opinion in favour of farming and agriculture. There are sayings of the Prophet Muhammad which can be quoted to support this view. Again, the verses of the Qur'an have often exalted the benefits of agriculture and have drawn from farming meta-

phors and similies to exalt certain good attributes in man. The Qur'an says: "The parable of those who spend their wealth in the way of God is as the parable of a grain growing seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains. And God multiplies (further) for whom He pleases. And God is Ample-giving, Knowing" (2:261). The Imam al-Qurtubi commented upon this verse by saying that it shows that in the eyes of God farming is one of the most welcome occupations for a Muslim.

The Muslim jurists have laid down rules that farming is a primary and essential occupation, and that it is incumbent upon the ruler of a Muslim State to see to it that there are sufficient hands engaged in farming in his country. He was authorized, in their view, to compel some of his subjects to engage in farming if there be a deficiency of farmers in the country. Farming, in the opinion of Muslim jurists, should be properly organized on both short- and long-term bases. The farmers should plan with the needs of posterity in mind, and not merely on a selfish day-to-day basis. The story is told of an Arab governor who went on a tour of inspection throughout his kingdom. He met a very old man who was planting an olive tree. The governor said to the old man: "This tree will take very long before it will begin

to bear fruit. Do you think you will live to benefit from its fruit?" The old man promptly answered. "My lord, they planted and we ate, and we plant so that they might eat." This story typifies the attitude which the jurists of Islam took in the matter of farming and agriculture.

The Muslim's duty today

The wealth of the Islamic world lies on the whole until this day mainly in the field of agriculture. And its resources in this respect have yet to be fully developed or exploited. What has stood in the way of the development of the agricultural wealth of the Islamic countries for so long is the fact that land distribution has been riddled with grave injustices. Steps are being taken — the land reforms in Pakistan, Egypt and Syria are cases in point — to remedy these defects. When the task is completed there will still be a great need of instilling in the minds of the Muslims a proper appreciation of the value of agriculture and its honourable status. God gave the land to man and he reposed in it the gift to be exploited by man for his own and his neighbour's good. We will be failing to carry out the wishes of God if we neglect this important duty.

ISLAM'S SHARE IN DEMOCRACY

Islam, the First Social System in the History of Mankind to take into Account the Abolition of Slavery

By Mehmet Kideys

"Islam, by recognizing the rights of different sections of human society — slaves and women — created an unparalleled revolution in the system of State"

The characteristics of Muslim civilization

The Islamic civilization is a system of religion and State founded upon the principles of national sovereignty and democratic government. Another significance of Islamic civilization is the maintenance of the individual in human society with an assurance of security regarding life, property, dignity and honour and the happiness of living in liberty. To safeguard the security and happiness of the individual in each stage of history, certain doctrines were formulated and individual and social rights and duties were proclaimed, but it is a fact that right through the ages down to the advent of Islam they never included in their application all sections of society.

In Islamic civilization the principles underlying it were based on decisions representing the sublime national interest. Therefore these have left their profound impressions and influences on the human conscience in Muslim society.

The message of Islam came at a time when the other religions had become transformed into mythologies and Islam taught humanity the proper way of using the mind, this being the source of intellect, and therefore, Islam made due appraisal of mind. Many of the verses of the Qur'an are addressed to the mind, and man is instructed to think.

The Prophet Muhammad confirms this fact by the following words: "The criterion of religious virtue in man is the mind. Where there is no mind, religion has no value."

In Islam the nature, and the reason for the creation, of man, his good and bad inclinations, were explained, and man was instructed in all the ways of virtue necessary for him to become civilized.

The problem of slavery at the advent of Islam

The Islamic civilization advocated that the doctrines of liberty and equality should be exercised, in the first place, towards the slaves, because these were the weakest members of society and they needed emancipation the most. Islam as an institution protecting and emancipating the weak should naturally fulfil its duty by protecting and emancipating the slaves. Hitherto all systems and doctrines had gone no farther than to protect the interests of the strong, but now, with the advent of Islam, was proclaimed the duty of securing and of safeguarding the rights of the weak.

At the appearance of Islam it was found necessary to improve the lot of slaves, who at that time were the weakest and the most oppressed members of society, and to enable them to take advantage of their basic human liberties. This was necessary because in Islam everyone is equal. Irrespective of their race or colour, the rich and the poor, the king and the beggar are brothers, and all are the same in the sight of God. This equalitarian outlook on life presented by Islam made the solution of this problem with a single stroke a very difficult task, as the slave population of the world at that time was half mankind.

Slavery was a condition imposed upon free people as a result of being taken prisoners of war, and gave rise to the tyranny and oppression of the minority by the majority.

This institution of tyranny, established from the beginning of human history, was greatly in vogue, not only in Arabia, but also in the more civilized countries of the world. The slave merchants followed the warlike armies. The prisoners of war were then sent to the markets and were sold like beasts. The Arabs who were still living the tribal life and had yet to achieve national unity were in the habit of organizing banditry (*Gazwa*), and of attacking and robbing people living peacefully in their homes and taking them prisoner.

This inhuman organization did not even consider a bondsman or bondswoman as a human being, and evidently never recognized that these might have any rights, but considered the purchase and sale of slaves to be quite in order. During some periods even in civilized countries, landowners employed hundreds of slaves on their farms, which slaves could be sold like property together with their farms, if the landowners wished to take advantage of their rights of ownership of the slaves.

The abolition of slavery, which was universally practised by all nations, might have caused some legal and social dislocation. Therefore this problem could not have been radically settled. It was considered that the best course to follow was to improve as far as possible the condition of this unfortunate section of humanity and to provide them with the wholesome advantages of a life of liberty.

How Muhammad dealt with the difficult social institution of slavery

In order to achieve this worthy objective the founder of the Muslim civilization took two courses of action:

The object of the first was to enable the bondsman and the bondswoman to live as an integral part of the family to which they belonged as slaves and to reinforce the ties of amity and respect between the master and the slave, thereby achieving a better social order.

Secondly, religious obligations were introduced for the liberation of slaves on various occasions, and this matter was given prime importance immediately after the cardinal principles of Islam.

Before the advent of Islam no social manners were in existence expressing amity and respect between the slaves and their overlords. The masters used such terms as "my bondsman" or "my bondswoman" to call their slaves, and were themselves addressed as "my master" by their slaves. This was the tradition of the "Era of Ignorance".

The Prophet Muhammad, representing human dignity and the best ethical conduct, prohibited such undignified appellations. It is stated in some authentic traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, recorded both by Bukhari and Muslim, that the Prophet in this connection said:

"O believers! Do not ask your bondsman or bondswoman to bring your meals or water for your ablution and do not call your slaves as 'your slaves', because after all you are the servants of God. Therefore call your slaves as 'my boy', 'my son' or 'my daughter'."

"O believers! Do not strike the face if you are obliged to strike your slave to teach him manners, because the face is the most honourable part of the body."

"O believers! Cause your bondsman or bondswoman to sit and have his or her meals together with you. If your

meal is not sufficient for two at least let him or her have a few mouthfuls."

The Prophet of Islam on every occasion encouraged Muslims to liberate slaves as an act of devotion and explained to them the virtues of such an action. Some fourteen of the companions of the Prophet are related to have heard (it is recorded by Bukhari) that the Prophet Muhammad said:

"Whoever sets free a Muslim slave God will exempt a member of his body from the fire of Hell."

These and several other Hadiths had a beneficial influence on rich owners of slaves, and they began to set their slaves free. Some set their slaves free at the rate of one or two at a time while others were witnessed to liberate as many as a hundred of their slaves. An illustrious example was given by Hakim Ibn Hizam, a cousin of Khadija, the mother of Believers, who set free a hundred slaves at the Prophet's last Pilgrimage. On that day, thousands of pilgrims were much impressed at the 'Arafat by the scene presented by the liberated slaves riding on camels ornamented by rich Yemen cloths and each camel carrying a placard round its neck inscribed with the words, "This slave was set free by Hakim Ibn Hizam to please God".

The condition of women at the advent of Islam

Before the advent of Islam the condition of women was not very different from that of slaves. A woman could have no right of ownership, inheritance or in matters relating to matrimony. While she could not inherit property, a woman could be made the subject of a legacy. That is to say, a woman had no rights whatsoever, as daughter, wife or mother. Through the principles laid down by Islam, woman, the nourisher and mother of humanity, gained her rights. While before the advent of Islam a woman had no rights, numerous verses of the Holy Qur'an set forth that woman has the right of ownership of property, has the right of giving proper training to her children and, furthermore, if need be, she can have the right of divorcing her husband.

Islam's dictates regarding our material life

Islam, by recognizing the rights of the different sections of human society — slaves and women — created an unparalleled revolution in the system of State. The principles as laid down in this connection are established in justice and righteousness.

The message of the Prophet of Islam regarding Divine will is divided into two: first, statements regarding the hereafter, second, commandments regarding the material world. The commandments regarding our material environment are sub-divided into:

- (1) In all matters consult with the people;
- (2) On all occasions act with justice and righteousness; and,
- (3) Entrust duties and services regarding the country and the nation (which are a trust from God) to the most deserving people.

The above commandments were communicated to the Prophet Muhammad through the Qur'an. Therefore, their observance by all Muslims is obligatory.

This demonstrates that Islam is a religion as well as a system of State. This system has been established completely upon democratic lines, and while attaching the greatest importance to human rights, this system safeguards them.



THE MUSLIM PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIETS*

By A. Bennigsen

II. The Cultural conflict and the methods employed by the Soviet authorities to resolve it

*The Tazapur Mosque at Baku, Azerbaijan, Soviet Russia,
built in the 16th century C.E.*

A cultural symbiosis of all the peoples of the Soviet Union has not been achieved as far as Muslims in Central Asia are concerned

In the preceding article we studied the place occupied by the Muslim religion in the life of the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. We found that its position was not inconsiderable: Islam is not dead, or at least, it is still alive, in spite of the methods employed against it. But the process of de-Islamization is being inexorably pursued and there is every reason to believe that, apart from exceptional cases, the young natives are as little conversant with things appertaining to Islam as are the young Russians about Christianity.

But all the same, from the standpoint of the authorities, the anti-religious struggle is only the negative side of the policy of Sovietization. For, in order to set up Communism, the mere de-Islamizing of the believers is not sufficient. It is, above all, necessary to obtain a veritable cultural symbiosis of all the peoples of the Union by breaking down the barriers which separate the Muslims from the other groups and more particularly from the Russian people, the "elder brother", of the great Soviet family.

According to the doctrine enunciated by Lenin before the Revolution and then later by Stalin, this objective should not be obtained by the brutal suppression of the national

culture, but by a compromise between the ideal of internationalism "leading to the fusion of national cultures into a single common *supra*-national culture (in form and substance), with one common language"¹ and on condition that the State being multinational like the Soviet Union should favour the equal and equitable cultural development of all the national groups. Stalin has himself defined the forms of this compromise in a speech delivered on 18th May 1925 to the students of the University of the Peoples of the Orient at Tashkent:

"How can one reconcile the existence of national culture with the building up of proletarian culture? Is there not an insurmountable contradiction in this state of affairs? Evidently not; we are building up a proletarian culture . . . socialist in its substance . . . but national in its form. . . . The proletarian culture does not wipe out the national culture; it gives it its substance and inversely the national culture does not abolish the proletarian culture, it gives it shape. . . . The slogan of the national culture has been the slogan of the bourgeoisie as long as it was in power and that the consolidation of nations was effected under the patronage of the bourgeois régime. The slogan of the national culture has become the proletarian slogan when the proletariat took power."

Has this programme been carried out? It has, if one gives credence to the official propaganda which delights in giving details of the success; in other respects it is a reality, and very spectacular, which has been achieved in the formerly "backward" Muslim territories, and in which the cultural problem has been finally settled to the greatest satisfaction of the natives. Nevertheless, a careful study of Soviet life

* Courtesy, the Editor, *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris, France, No. 21, 1953. We regret that owing to an oversight, the source of the first article in this series, translated into English by kind permission of the Editor of *L'Afrique et l'Asie* (No. 20, 1953), was not duly acknowledged.

¹ Stalin, *Report to the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (27th June 1930).

The Six Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union



shows that nothing has been done and that the programme traced out more than a quarter of a century ago has remained a dead letter. At the present, the compromise between the national, traditional form and the "socialist and proletarian" essentials appears to be as distant, in other words, as unrealizable as on the morrow of the Revolution.

The three checks to the cultural symbiosis policy of the Communists of the Soviet Union

The temporary or final check to the cultural policy is due to numerous factors, of which three are especially important:

First, the action of the Communist Party came into conflict with the opposition of the new indigenous intelligentsia, a social stratum which was increasing its growth and whose powers of fighting back and resisting are far greater than those of the former feudal classes or the rural masses.

Also, the civilization of Central Asia and of Transcaucasia is not really a "national" but rather an "international" civilization. It does not suffice to isolate the Muslims from the outside world (as has been done since 1920) in order to integrate them into the rest of the Soviet population. For this it is essential to break all their cultural links with the past and the present, and this is a far harder task.

Finally, and this is perhaps the decisive factor, the cultural policy of the Soviet régime has never followed a definite course; it has always adopted an opportunist policy, changing continuously to suit the contradictory demands of

the internal and foreign policy, passing from an utter disregard of the traditional heritage of the past (during the period of the *proletkult*) to a policy of dithyrambic exaltation of their famous ancestors (from 1939 to 1946), in order to revert in the course of the last years to a more severe appreciation of the heritage of the past. It is certain that these hesitations and fluctuations have helped the resistance of the natives and have permitted various "deviationists" to flourish.

The three stages of the cultural policy of the Soviet in Central Asian Muslim Republics

Before dealing with this question it would be well to recapitulate that what we know about the life of the Muslims of the Soviet Union emanates solely from official sources and that it is only through the polemics carried on at the expense of the different native "deviationists" that we can form an idea, and at that a very imperfect one, of the cultural conflict which opposes the Muslims to the Government and to the Communist Party.

The cultural policy pursued after the war can be divided into three stages:

(1) From 1945 to 1947: the liberal stage during which the central authorities only rarely intervened in the local cultural questions and appeared to leave it to the native intellectuals to lead on their people to Communism.

(2) From 1947 to 1950: the authorities directed a campaign against the "cosmopolitanism" of the Pan-Turk or Pan-Iranian movements with the object of detaching the

Muslims of the Soviet Union from the rest of the Muslim world.

(3) In 1950: this policy was reversed and the struggle against cosmopolitanism was ended, and the campaign against national culture which is still being carried out at the present time was inaugurated.

The struggle against cosmopolitanism of Islam

When in 1936-37 as a result of the triumph of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" patriotism once more became fashionable, the native intelligentsia was invited to brush up its knowledge of the sources of its national culture and rediscover in the past its great personages, its pride and self-respect of its race. Then the years of the war followed and the exaltation of the national pride was pressed forward to the limits of human endurance. As in the case of the Russians who were not only called upon to fight for "Holy Russia", the Muslims, and, above all, those of Central Asia, were able to rediscover the centuries of the grandeur of the empire of Timur and the splendours of the old Islamic civilization of the Samanides of Bukhara. The old heroic legends of the Turkmen, Uzbeks, of the Kirghiz, *Oghuz Nameh*, *Alpamysh* or *Manas*, which rhapsodize the holy war against the *kafirs*, Buddhists or the Christians — all these were placed in a position of honour and the word *Jihad*, which had been proscribed for so many years, reappeared in everyday speech.

Meanwhile the Soviet authorities soon realized the danger incurred throughout this tendency. In fact, for the Muslim intellectuals the cultural tradition of the past could only be that of the whole of the Muslim world, and as, at the end of the war, Soviet Islam began to re-establish its contacts with the outside world, the rediscovery of the traditional culture incurred the risk of resulting in something diametrically opposed to the required objective. It restored to the Muslims of the Soviet Union the consciousness of their relationship with their brothers abroad and led them away from the Russians and rendered still more problematic their adherence to Soviet culture.

The uneasiness of the authorities appeared to be justified, for it was precisely during and after the war that were put forward theories whose cosmopolitan character was later denounced by the authorities.

In order to stop this "landslide" towards the Muslim Orient, the Communist Party reacted vigorously by letting loose in 1947 a campaign against what the Soviet polemicists described as "cosmopolitanism".

Henceforth anything likely to stir up in the minds of the Muslims of the Soviet Union the consciousness of any other community than that of the "great Soviet family" was banned, and all allusion to their ethnic relationship or their historic or cultural bonds with foreign peoples was condemned as an ideological deviation, which was dangerous and unpatriotic, and "prejudicial to the dignity of the Soviet peoples",² and was "propagated by the enemies of socialism and democracy and by the hirelings of the international bourgeoisie and of reactionarianism".³

The campaign against the "cosmopolitan", pan-Islamic, pan-Turkic and pan-Iranian deviation lasted nearly five years from 1947 to 1951, and it spread across all the Muslim territories of the Union.

The proportion assumed by this "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign can be judged by an analysis of the Soviet Press. The accusation of "pan-Turkism" (a doctrine which proclaims the relationship of the Turkish-speaking peoples of the Soviet Union with the Osmanli Turks) has been on suc-

cessive occasions brought against the Uzbek historians and writers,⁴ the collaborators of the Institute of Languages and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan,⁵ and the Tartar historians and linguists⁶ etc.

Also, the indictment of "pan-Iranianism" was launched against all those who claimed that the Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union derive their culture from the culture of Iran.

The accusation is directed against:

— all the collaborators of the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, who were accused of "servility towards *bourgeois* sciences by having given an excessive importance to the Muslim culture and having minimized the beneficial influence of Russian culture on the peoples of the East";⁷

— the teaching staff of the State University and the collaborators of the Institutes of Literature and History of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, who "propagated the theory of the one source" of pan-Islamism and who attributed the paternity of works which were really a part of the Tajik heritage, to the Persians and to the Arabs";⁸

— the Uzbek historians, members of the Academy of Sciences of Tashkent and the teaching staff of the State University of Samarkand, were held guilty of propagating pan-Turkic, pan-Iranian and pan-Islamic theories;⁹

— the collaborators of the Oriental Institute of Tashkent, who "take no notice of the Cyrillic alphabet and always use the Arabic script";¹⁰

Exception is also taken to a number of scholars among whom one can note the Member of the Academy, Berthold, who mentions in his book, *The Origin of the Civilization of Turkestan*, the Iranian influence on the evolution of the Uzbek people;¹¹ the Member of the Academy, Kratchkovski, who is accused of evoking the contribution of Arab culture in Southern Caucasus;¹² the historian, Rainov, of the Academy of Sciences of Tashkent, who is denounced as an "unpatriotic cosmopolitan" and as "an enemy of

2 F. Tchernov: "Bourgeois Cosmopolitanism and its Reactionary Role," in *B.* for 15th March 1949.

3 S. Kovalev, "Remarks on the Suppression of the Vestiges of Capitalism in Men's Consciences," in *B.* for 30th August 1950.

4 See Osman Yusupov, Report to the Tenth Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party, see *K.U.* for 2nd March 1949. Zahidov, "The Past History of the Uzbek People and Marxist-Leninist Culture," in *K.U.* for 2nd March and 15th April 1949, and Sharaf Rashidov, President of the Union of the Uzbek Soviet Writers, in *P.V.* for 15th August 1950.

5 "The Science of Philology in Kazakhstan," in *K.P.* for 3rd February 1952.

6 *V.I.* No. 4, 1950, and No. 11, 1950.

7 S. Tolstov, "In Favour of a Progressive Soviet Orientalism," *K.I.J.* for 2nd August 1950 and *V.A.N.*, No. 12, of 1948.

8 See the speech of Professor Radjabov, the Dean of the University of Stalinabad, given at the session of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan (*vide K.T.* for 27th September 1951), and the articles of Professor Niazmuhammedov, Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan (*vide K.T.* for 24th June 1951 and *K.T.* for 15th July 1951), and articles of Professor Fazylov, D.Sc. (Phil.), of the Academy of Sciences (*vide K.T.* for 22nd June 1951).

9 R. Nabiev, Director of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, "The Struggle against pan-Iranianism, pan-Turkism and pan-Arabism", a lecture given at the plenary session of the Literary Sections of the Uzbek Academy in April 1949 (*vide V.I.* No. 7 of 1949).

10 A. Shmakov, "An Institute Detached from Life" (*vide P.V.* for 17th August 1951).

11 V. Zahidov, article quoted above (*vide K.U.* for 2nd March 1949).

12 L. Klimovitch, a Member of the Soviet Academy, "The Duties of Soviet Literary History" (*vide L.G.* for 12th and 26th January and 5th February 1949).

proletarian internationalism" because he had spoken about the influence of Arab culture in Central Asia; the professors, Zarifov and Jirmundski, also from the same Academy of Sciences, the joint authors of a book on the heroic epoch of the Uzbek people, who are deemed guilty of having supported the idea of "pan-Muslim culture" and who were denounced as "enemies of the Soviet people",¹³ etc.

The official doctrine consists in inculcating in them their superiority over their co-religionists outside the Soviet Union

The denunciation of the cosmopolitan deviationists only forms the negative side of the post-war cultural policy. It also carries with it a positive side which lies in the affirmation of the superiority of the Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union over their co-religionists living outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

Through innumerable works and articles published in the Press, one is able to appreciate the new doctrine which is in contradiction with all the declarations of Western and Eastern sciences (or "pseudo-sciences" as the Russian polemicists call it).

To sum up as follows:

I. The Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union are ethnically distinct from the peoples living outside its frontiers.

Osman Yusupov, the first Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party, wrote in 1949 that there existed a distinct relationship between the Uzbek language and the languages of several other peoples of the Orient, but for a Marxist historian, a mere linguistic relationship in no way implies an identity of culture. All the Turkish-speaking peoples, and in particular the Uzbeks, have their own historical background.¹⁴

Also, another Soviet writer, in mentioning the ethnogenesis of the Bashkirs, states that they constitute an autochthonous people with very different racial characteristics to those of the other Turkish peoples.¹⁵

With regard to the origin of the Tartars of Kazan, the Soviet authorities consider that, contrary to the old theory of *bourgeois* sciences which made out that the Tartars of the Volga were descendants of the Tartar-Mongol invaders of the thirteenth century, they constituted an autochthonous population, independent of the other Turkish peoples.¹⁶

The Azerbaijan people became, if one is to believe the *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* (2nd edition, 1949, Vol. I), an autochthonous people whose formation goes back to the earliest times and who count among their ancestors the Albanians, the Medes, the Scytho-Cimmerians, the Hun-Bulgarians, the Caspians, and last of all the Turks. Also, contrary to the declarations of the "cosmopolitan pan-Turks", the Azeri language is not a Turkish dialect but "an original language which traces its origin to the language of the Medes".¹⁷ Finally, the Tajiks are not to be considered as near relations of the Persians but as distant cousins, according to the Soviet historians; the separation of the Tajiks or Eastern Iranians, they say, dates back to a very distant time before the arrival of the Achemenides.

2. From the earliest times the peoples inhabiting the present territory of the Soviet Union have formed a great united and interdependent family of which the Russian people have been the eldest brother and which has always opposed the invaders who have come from outside its present frontiers.

Thus, for example, the national consciousness of the Azerbaijan people dates back to the time when their ancestors, the Medes, fought against the imperialism of the

ancient Persians.¹⁸ Also the brotherly friendship which unites the Tajiks and the Uzbeks was forged in the darkest ages at the time when their ancestors, the Sogdians, and the Turks of Central Asia, fought side by side against the foreign imperialism of the Sassanides or the Arabs.¹⁹ One can even read in such a serious publication as the review called *Voprossy Istorii* (published by the Academy of Sciences of Moscow) that the ancestors of the Tartars of Kazan and the Russians were always fraternally united against the Mongol invaders.²⁰

3. The national culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union developed independently of all outside help; it is strictly autonomous and original.

Thus, declare the Soviet historians, that the national literature of the people of Azerbaijan is not merely a branch of Turkish and Persian literature, as is made out by the "pan-Turkic cosmopolitans"; it is of Median origin and its earliest monuments date from the seventh century of our era;²¹ the culture of the Turkmen people is also original and entirely free from all foreign influence; it is the heritage of ancient Khwarezm and the Parthian empire.²²

In the same way the Tajik civilization is made out to be different from the Iranian and to date back to the ancient Bactrians and Massagetae,²³ etc.

4. This national culture is superior to the cultures of the people who live beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

This assertion tends to show that the superiority of the Muslims of the Soviet Union over their co-religionists abroad comes not only from their privileged position ("they live under a Socialist régime, while their brothers stagnate under the yoke of feudalism or colonialism") but also because of traditional historic factors.

The Soviet authors do not hesitate to "nationalize" the great men of the past who have lived on the present territory of the Soviet Union and whom *bourgeois* sciences describe as Turks, Persians or Arabs in order to prove this assumption.

Wishing to efface all trace of the Arab civilization which penetrated into Central Asia about 730 C.E., the Russian authors treat Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Al-Khwarizmi, Abu Nasr al-Farabi, etc., as Tajik or Azerbaijani writers. Also the Emperor Babur, the first of the great Moghuls, and the poet 'Ali Sher Nava'i (of Herat), are considered as "Uzbeks"²⁴ in accordance with the official doctrine.

While, on the other hand, the Tajiks have annexed all the great Persian classical writers with the exception of Nizami, who came from Gandja and as such was an "Azerbaijani" poet. They even included those birthplaces

13 Sharaf Rashidov, article quoted above (*vide P.V.* for 15th August 1950).

14 A speech at the Tenth Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party (*vide K.U.* for 2nd March 1949).

15 Kh. Ya Tokhaiev, *Bashkiria*, Moscow, p. 120.

16 *V.I.*, No. 4, of 1950, p. 143; N. F. Kalinine, *Materials Concerning the History of Tartary*, Vol. I, Kazan, 1948, and *S.E.*, No. 3, of 1946.

17 Z. Ahmadov and M. Shiraliev, "An Inspired Work of Creative Marxism," an article devoted to the Stalinist Doctrine and its Application to Azerian philology (*vide B.R.* for 20th July 1952).

18 *G.E.S.*, 2nd edition, 1949, Vol. I, under the words "Azerbaijan Literature", p. 469 *et seq.*

19 Ghafurov, *History of the Tajik People*, Vol. II, Moscow, 1949.

20 *V.N.*, No. 4, of 1950.

21 *G.E.S.*, Vol. I, under the words "Azerbaijan Literature", p. 469 *et seq.*

22 *The Anthology of Turkmen Poetry*, Moscow, 1948, p. 7.

23 *The Anthology of Tajik Poetry*, Moscow, 1951, p. 5.

24 *The Anthology of Uzbek Poetry*, Moscow, 1950.



An artist's impression of the world-famous moralist and poet, Sa'di (1184-1291 C.E.), of Shiraz, Iran
The Communists of Tajikistan pass him off as an Eastern Iranian (Sa'di originates from Southern Iran) in order to "annex" him!

which are outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union; for instance, one finds to one's astonishment that Firdusi, 'Omar Khayyam, Nasir Khosru, 'Attar, Jami, Jalal al-Din Rumi, and even Sa'd Salman, Amir Khosru of Delhi, Bedil of Akbarabad, Nizam al-Mulk, the Imam Ghazzali, Sa'di and Hafiz of Shiraz²⁵ are included in this list as "great Tajiks". With regard to these two last-mentioned poets originating from Southern Iran, it is really difficult to pass them off as "Eastern Iranians"; the Soviet authors declare that they are Tajiks²⁶ "in spirit".

The attribution of a precise nationality to such and such a writer of the past is not always easy, and it gives place to bitter polemics between the different Republics of Central Asia; thus the poet Ahmad Yasawi (twelfth century) is claimed at the same time by the Kazakhs, the Turkmens and the Uzbeks, and he appears in three different places in the literary *Anthologies* of these three Republics. The same thing happens to the *Avesta* of Zoroaster, which is annexed as a "monument of high progressive culture" by the Republics of Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.²⁷

Why the struggle against cultural nationalism?

In spite of the absence of objective commentaries it can be stated that the anti-cosmopolitan campaign has only achieved the most disappointing results. It is true that it was welcomed with enthusiasm by the majority of the young native intelligentsia whose national pride was flattered by it, but the new policy adopted after the war greatly contributed further to alienate the Muslims of the Soviet Union from their foreign brothers. But it is none the less certain that its extent has greatly surpassed the objectives which were fixed by the authorities and the results achieved by it have been more harmful than useful.

Moreover, the anti-cosmopolitan campaign stopped abruptly in 1949-50, and the Soviet authorities, once more modifying the orientation of their cultural policy, let loose a new campaign whose slogans appeared to be completely opposed to those of the preceding campaign.

Once more an analysis of the Soviet Press gives us the reasons for this *volte-face*.

The exaltation of the past spurred the young Muslim intellectuals to take refuge in the "golden age" of the classical epoch in which they found masterpieces to admire and models to copy. This escape into the idealized past favoured what the Soviet authors call an "anti-political deviation"; the intellectuals ceasing to be the active participants and useful in the work of building up socialism; they forget the realities of the present day in order to perpetuate pessimism, individualism and the intimate lyricism of the past centuries, in the midst of the Soviet régime in its full exercise of power.²⁸ Thus they betray the task which has been entrusted to them by the Communist Party; for "in Soviet society, literature, art and all culture in general are inseparable from the struggle for Communism".²⁹

Also the comparison with the splendours of ancient Iranian-Arabic literature which is annexed as being "Tajik-Uzbek" makes the "great Russian culture" appear as being very new and dull. Also the Soviet Press informs us that the local youth tends too much to disinterest itself in the latter, and this is a very serious matter, for "only the great Russian culture can permit to have access to the Soviet culture".

The Turkmen historians, writes a Russian author in this connection, describe all the old national poets as "celebrities", and compare them to the best Russian poets and notably to Pushkin. . . . An attitude such as this is devoid of the Marx-Leninist spirit of criticism, and there is a chance of it becoming dangerous, for it turns away the youth from the study of Russian and Soviet literature. . . . By calling Makhtum Kuli³⁰ the "Turkmen Pushkin" one will finish up by causing doubt to germinate in the minds of our young writers: is it really necessary to study Pushkin? Since Makhtum Kuli so much resembles him, let us be content with the Turkmen poet! Now, however great the talent of the national authors may be, the study of their work cannot replace the initiation in the Russian classics and the Soviet contemporary writers.³¹

25 *The Anthology of Tajik Poetry*, Moscow, 1951, and Ghafurov, *History of the Tajik People*, Moscow, 1949, Vol. I. In order to appreciate the tendency to "nationalize" the past heritage, it is interesting to compare these two works with the older Soviet texts. For example, see *The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1st Edition, 1946, Vol. 53, p. 405 *et seq.*, under the words "Tajik Literature"; it speaks of "Tajiko-Persian" literature. In the 58th volume, pp. 634-636, of the same work, which dates from 1936, Firdusi is still considered to be a "Persian" poet, and in the 1st volume (1926), Ibn Sina (Avicenna) was classified as an Arab philosopher, and a reactionary one at that.

26 *The Anthology of Tajik Poetry*, p. 6 *et seq.*

27 *G.E.S.* (Vol. I, p. 467) states that the *Avesta* is an Azerbaijan work of art; *The Anthropology of Tajik Poetry*, *op. cit.*, p. 5, describes it as being Tajik, and the *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie* (Vol. V, 1948, article by V. V. Struve, "The Fatherland of Zoroasterism," pp. 5-35) as being Uzbek. This polemic now seems to have been ended, for lately the authorities have severely condemned all those who have attempted to annex Zoroaster and have spoken of his progressive role; for "Zoroastrianism, like all other religions, is only the opium of the people" (see Kh. Mirza Tursun Zade, Professor of the Pedagogical Institute of Stalinabad and President of the Tajik Soviet Writers, in *K.T.* for 20th June 1951).

28 See the Report of Mirza Tursun Zada, at the Plenary Session of the Organization of the Communist Party of the Union of the Soviet Tajik Writers on the 18th July 1951, in *T.S.* for 21st July 1951.

29 "The Socialist Content and the National Formation of Soviet Culture", in *B.* for 15th November (pp. 5-8).

30 One of the first and the greatest of the Turkmen who was a product of southern Turkmenistan (in the eighteenth century).

Some details of the new campaign against cultural nationalism let loose in 1950

The local Soviet Press, which gives abundant details of the new campaign let loose in 1949-50 against the "cultural nationalism", informs us that the struggle between the Russians and the natives is crystallizing in two essential points:

- the compromise between the national form and the essence of socialism;
- the exploitation of the heritage of the past.

(a) *The conflict between the national form and the socialist essence of socialist culture: the struggle against "anti-political activity".*

The offensive of the authorities was, first of all, directed against the national form of native culture. It marked the abandoning of the policy advocated in 1925 by Stalin. Henceforth, there was no question of achieving a compromise between the traditional form and the socialist substance but merely of replacing the national form with another one described as being Soviet, but which in reality closely resembled Russian culture.

A scrutiny of the local Soviet Press permits one to follow the unfolding of this campaign in one Republic after another.

Azerbaijan

In *Azerbaijan*, it is the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Baghirov, who declared at the Congress of the Intelligentsia of Baku on 14th July 1950:

"The Azeri Communist Party's Central Committee had discovered grave defects in the work of our writers and our artists and our composers. They are not interested in the life and the spiritual needs of the masses . . . they do not ameliorate their ideological and political qualifications and do not study the classics of Marxism-Leninism. . . . They replace the forms of popular art by those of a pseudo-national art which is foreign to Soviet culture. This pseudo-national art is expressed by its mechanical imitation of the past, its attachment to old traditions, and by its defence of all that is stagnant and medieval. It leads to the brutalization of the masses and takes them far away from the progressive traditions of the Azerian, Russian and world literature."³²

Daghestan

In *Daghestan*, the President of the Directorate of Propaganda and Agitation attached to the Republican Committee of the Communist Party, Comrade Kashkaev, takes up the complaints of Baghirov:

"Our poets idealize the past and have become enamoured of exotism. They slavishly imitate the themes of folklore. They do not understand that it is impossible to sing the praises of our Soviet life and its profound socialist basis by means of the old traditional form. . . ."³³

In the autonomous Republic of Tartars of Kazan during a congress specially called to correct the faults of the "cultural workers", the Secretary of the Republican Committee of the Party, Rahmatullin, stated that Tartar literature did not suffice the requirements of the working masses:

"It ignores the present and tirelessly repeats the medieval themes . . . instead of singing the praises of socialist construction it harps back for the thousandth time on the themes of love, roses and nightingales."³⁴

Turkmenistan

In *Turkmenistan* the purge of the national literature has been even more spectacular, since the most important party organ assigned itself this task. On the 20th September 1951 the Central Committee unmasked the "anti-political" and "bourgeois nationalist" tendencies of the national writers.³⁵ This condemnation referred to the leaders of the Union of

Soviet Writers of the Republic and especially to its President, Kurbansakhatov. It was confirmed at the special session of the Union of Turkmenian Writers on the 28th September 1951³⁶ and then at the Congress of Active Members of the Communist Party of the Academy of Sciences of Ashkabad on 2nd October of the same year.³⁷ Since this date the Soviet Turkmenian Press of Ashkabad has denounced at regular intervals the survival of the "feudal" form of expression, the anti-political attitude and the cultural nationalism of the native intellectuals. Thus it helps us to understand why the Communist Party gives such importance to a problem which may appear to be unimportant to uninformed observers. In commenting upon the condemnation of the President of the Union of Writers, a Communist leader writes:

" . . . the poems of Kurbansakhatov do not sing about Soviet-Turkmenistan nor about the great October Revolution; they do not sing about the flourishing Socialist Republic but about Turkmenistan 'in general', without mentioning time or space, or still worse, they deal with the pre-Revolution Turkmenistan which is made out to be a terrestrial paradise, an ornament of the universe and as the promised land . . . they are impregnated with *bourgeois* nationalism and should be considered as being ideologically dangerous. . . ."³⁸

In his official "Self-Criticism", Kurbansakhatov goes even further:

"My works are impregnated with *bourgeois* nationalism . . . they give a false image of the imposing Soviet reality . . . they harm the Stalinist spirit of friendship of the people, the unbreakable foundation of the Soviet Union. . . . In singing about Turkmenistan 'in general' I have played the game of the nationalist enemies of the Soviet régime. . . . I was politically blind. . . . I have committed unpardonable ideological errors."³⁹

Tajikistan

In *Tajikistan*, an Iranian-speaking Republic, the literature of which is profoundly steeped in the influence of the Persian classics, "the national writers are obstinately attached to the past forms of expression, the outmoded traditions and medieval *clichés* which are totally inadmissible in the Soviet epoch."⁴⁰

In May 1950 the seventh plenum of the Tajik Communist Party attempted to put the situation right, but its decisions remained a dead letter. This matter was taken up again during the Congress of the Active Members of the Communist Party in the Union of Tajik Soviet Writers who were summoned together on the 5th July 1951 in Stalinabad in order to raise the ideological level of Tajik literature. In this Congress it was shown that the position of the last-mentioned literature, penetrated by "intimate lyricism", individualism and pessimism, was considered to be disastrous. The President of the Union of Writers, Mirza Tursun Zada, has declared that during the last war the Tajik poets only wrote "decadent and pessimistic poems singing about black eyes and the curls of their well-beloved and the splendours of nature, and they were obviously disinterested in the war effort of the country. Nothing was written about the con-

31 J. P. Skossyrev: "The problem is not only an academic question (a critique of the cultural tendencies of the intelligentsia of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan)" (*vide L.G.* for 14th June 1947).

32 Report of Baghirov on the duties of the intelligentsia of Azerbaijan, in *B.R.* for 18th July 1950.

33 *K.I.J.* for 30th November 1950.

34 The Proceedings of the Work of the Second Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers of Tataristan, in *L.G.* for 24th November 1950.

35 *S.T.* for 21st September 1951.

36 *T.I.* for 29th September 1951.

37 *T.I.* for 3rd October 1951.

38 A. Annurov, "Ideologically Vicious Works of Art," in *S.T.* for 21st September 1951.

39 K. Kurbansakhatov, "My Ideological Errors," in *T.I.* for 8th October 1951.

40 *L.G.* for October 1949, in its Editorial dealing with the decade of Tajik Art (published in Moscow).

struction of socialism, about the greatness of the Stalinist epoch, or of the love of the Tajik people for their elder Russian brother."⁴¹

Uzbekistan

The situation is similar in *Uzbekistan*, another Republic of which the culture was strongly influenced by Iranian traditions. In a report made in November 1951 to the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, the Secretary of this organization, Sharaf Reshidov, speaks of the "intolerable situation" of Uzbek literature, and he shows that the Directorate of Cultural Relations in the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan openly resists directives from Moscow and has plays caused to be acted in the Republic's



An artist's impression of Abu 'Ali Sina (Avicenna) (980-1037 C.E.), who is presented by the Russian Communists as an "enemy of kings and of Islam"

theatres of which the subject matter is drawn from folklore and mythical legends; since the end of the war no play dealing with a modern theme has appeared in the repertoire of the National Theatre of Tashkent.⁴²

Similar statements are made by Muhsinov, the head of the Directorate of Cultural Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of Uzbekistan, who also states that the Uzbek writers are not interested in modern life or in the present time but take refuge in the past. In spite of the imperative orders from the Central Committee, the theatres of the Republic continue to put on legendary and fantastic plays which idealize the feudal past such as *Leila and Madjnun*, *Farhad and Shirin*, *Tahir and Zohra*.⁴³

Kirghizia

The same kind of ideological errors have been discovered in *Kirghizia*. At a public meeting organized in September 1951 by the Union of Soviet Kirghiz Writers and the

Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was shown that there were serious ideological deviations committed by the principal national writers, notably by the best of such writers, Aaly Tokombaiev, who is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a deputy in the Supreme Soviet of this Republic.

The Kirghiz writers, quotes a journal of Frunze, like matters of a contemplative and anti-political nature . . . they admire the snowy summits of Ala-Tau but take no notice of the socialist transformation of nature which has been achieved in the course of the five-year plans. They sing about the nightingales and gazelles but have not a word to say about the big industrial concerns and the railways; they talk about the beauty of the mountains but are not interested in the coal mines and the oil wells. Others go even further and describe the customs of their ancestors but refuse to see the spiritual beauty of the Stalinist world; they idealize the "eternal" Kirghizistan and perceptibly show distrust for the modern socialist republic.⁴⁴

But by way of contrast with what has occurred in the neighbouring Republics, the Kirghiz "deviationists" in no way take into account the accusations levelled against them and refuse to mend their ways. The chief culprit, Aaly Tokombaiev, even replies in a short poem in which he compares himself to "the moon which cannot be moved by the barking of dogs".⁴⁵ It required the advent of another crisis in the summer of 1952 to break the resistance of the Kirghiz intellectuals.

(b) The campaign against the national heritage

Some well-known names in the Muslim world hailed by the Soviets as progressives in 1950 and before, became reactionaries in 1951!

The struggle between the form and substance of culture theoretically having been resolved by the condemnation of the conservatives, the Communist Party let loose in 1950 a new campaign which was this time directed against this national heritage itself.

We have seen that up to this period the central authorities appeared to favour, or at least to accept passively, the idealization of the heritage of the past and placed no restriction on its exploitation. As for the Muslim intellectuals, they considered that the national heritage, or, in other words, the whole of the Iranian-Turkish-Arab literature, should be preserved as a whole in order to serve as a basis for building up the new Soviet culture. They also made use of the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaign in order to "naturalize" all the great men of the past and to turn them, in the face of historic accuracy, into "progressives", and even into the forerunners of the present régime. Thus Firdusi was presented as a "great democrat", the enemy of kings and of Islam;⁴⁶ the Ismai'li philosopher, Nasir Khosru, became "a courageous atheist and rationalist and a defender of the working classes";⁴⁷ the same applied to Abu 'Ali Sina, 'Umar Khayyam, as well as the mystic poet, Bedil; and the lovable Hafiz of Shiraz was transformed into a kind of active revolutionary, the mouthpiece of the petty bourgeoisie in the

41 K.T. and T.S. for 21st July 1951. Report of Mirza Tursun Zada to the Congress of the Party of the Union of Soviet Tajik Writers.

42 P.V. for 29th November 1951.

43 P.V. for 26th August 1951. The same accusations were made by Sharaf Rashidov at the Eighth Plenum of the Union of Soviet Uzbek Writers (L.G. for 28th January 1950) by Wahhabov, the Secretary of the Communist Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party (K.U. for 19th October 1949 and K.i.J. for 21st August 1949), and finally by Kostyria and Faizullin, the Directors of Uzbek Broadcasting (P.V. for 10th August 1951), etc.

44 S.K. for 2nd October 1951, "For a High Ideological Level in Soviet Kirghiz Literature".

45 Ibid.

46 The Anthology of Tajik Poetry, p. 10.

47 Ibid.

struggle against feudalism, and his whole life's work is but a "vehement protestation against social injustice, the power of the sultans and the Muslim religion. . . ."48

Some nationalist writers even push the beauty of the past to such limits that they discover "progressive" elements in the Muslim mystics.

This was going too far, and the Soviet authorities reacted forcibly to it. And from thenceforth, the national heritage was subjected to a growingly severe and vigorous purge which applied to all the elements which were considered to be "non-progressive", and therefore harmful. At the same time the native intellectuals who were guilty of an excessive idealization of the past were to be accused of opposition to the régime and expelled from positions of responsibility.

The authorities, first of all, concentrated on the native writers who had idealized the classical literature of the past



An artist's impression of Firdusi (d. 1020 C.E.), who is presented by the Russian Communists as "a great democrat and an enemy of kings and Islam"

as a whole. Thus the writers of the Kirghiz school text-books published in 1951, in which a great place was given to the pre-revolutionary writers who were "reactionary and pan-Islamic such as Toktogul or Togolok-Moldo";49 the same thing happened in Kazakhstan, where the members of the Academy of Sciences and the editors of school books were denounced as "enemies of the régime" for having praised the genius of the former poets, Dawlat, Murat and Shortanbai, "noted pan-Islamists, reactionaries and above all enemies of Russia".50

In Tajikistan the Party condemned the national authors who spoke of the "golden age" of the Samanides, "forgetting that the latter were bloody tyrants and not Maecenases . . .", also because they praised the former courtesan poets.51 Sufism was forbidden as a "reactionary and anti-Soviet doctrine", and the Communist Party authorities carried out a complete revision of the Tajik literature in order to exclude the mystic poets. Thus, for example, one observes that the works of Amir Khosru, of Delhi (an Indian poet of the twelfth century), were expurgated, although some years previously he was considered to be "a great Tajik progressive"; he was thus suddenly trans-

formed into being a "spokesman of the aristocracy and the reactionary clergy and a propagandist of religious fanaticism and obscurantism."52

It should be noted that since 1952 a reaction has taken place in the policy of annexation which characterized the years 1947-50. Thus the Imam Ghazzali, who was classified in a work published in 1949 by the Tajikistan Academy of Sciences53 as one of the "Tajik" thinkers, became once more in December 1951 a "reactionary and obscurantist Persian".54

But the campaign against cultural nationalism was not merely limited to a Marx-Leninist criticism of the works of the past. From the spring of 1951, an offensive was launched against the very sources of the national culture of the Muslim peoples, the nationalist epics, and the popular legends.

This last-mentioned campaign is one of the most spectacular of those indulged in against the Muslim intellectuals since the war, if one takes into consideration the powerful methods employed, the important personages who took part in it and also the violence employed. It thus came up against the strongest resistance and we are relatively well informed about this episode which will be the subject of our next article.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

48 *Ibid.*, and B. Ghafurov, *History of the Tajik People*, Moscow, 1949, p. 321.

49 S.K. for 1st August 1952.

50 K.P. for 27th April 1951. See the article by Suleimnov, a Member of the Soviet Academy, "The Common Errors of the Manuals of Kazakh Literature".

51 B. Ghafurov, "The Marxist Interpretation of the History of the Tajik People and its Culture," in K.T. for 25th and 26th July 1951.

52 See the condemnation of the poem "Chahar Darvish" (The Four Dervishes) of the Amir Khosru, in K.T. for 26th April 1952 and 25th May 1952. See K.T. for 21st July 1951 for the theoretical condemnation of Sufism; the report of Mirza Tursun Zada at the Congress of the Organization of the Party of the Union of Tajik Soviet Writers at Stalinabad on 18th July 1951 and also the articles by Ghafurov already quoted in K.T. for 25th and 26th July 1951.

53 B. Ghafurov, *History of the Tajik People*, Moscow, 1949.

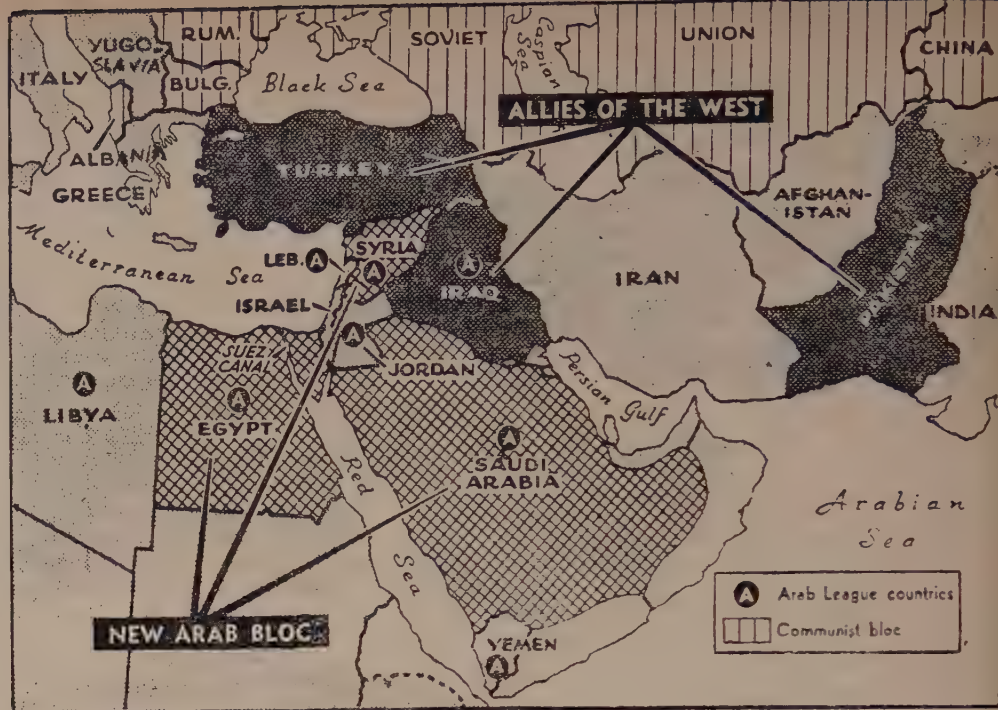
54 G.E.S., Vol. 9, pp. 617-618. This official work adds: "The reactionary apologists of Islam represent the feudal interests, the landed proprietors and the big bourgeoisie, who utilize the work of Ghazzali in order to struggle against the national liberation movements in the Near and Middle East".

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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| B. | <i>Bolshevik</i> , a bi-monthly Russian language Review, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published in Moscow. |
| B.R. | <i>Bakinski Rabotchi</i> , a Russian language daily published in Baku. |
| G.E.S. | <i>The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia</i> , Moscow. |
| L.G. | <i>Literaturnaia Gazeta</i> , a Russian language weekly, the organ of the Praesidium of the Union of the Soviet Writers of the Soviet Union. |
| K.i.J. | <i>Kultur i Jyzn</i> , a Russian language monthly, Moscow. |
| K.P. | <i>Kazakhstanskaia Pravda</i> , a Russian language daily, Alma Ata. |
| K.T. | <i>Kommunist Tadjikistana</i> , a Russian language daily, Stalinabad. |
| K.U. | <i>Kizil Uzbekistan</i> , an Uzbek language daily, Tashkent. |
| P.V. | <i>Pravda Vostoka</i> , a Russian language daily, Tashkent. |
| S.K. | <i>Sovetskaia Kirghizia</i> , a Russian language daily, Frunze. |
| S.T. | <i>Sovet Turkmenistany</i> , a daily in Turkmen language, Ashkabad. |
| T.I. | <i>Turkmenkaia Iskra</i> , a Russian language daily, Ashkabad. |
| T.S. | <i>Tadjikistani-Surkh</i> , a Tajik language daily, Stalinabad. |
| V.A.N. | <i>Vestnik Akademii Nauk</i> , a Russian language monthly, the organ of the Praesidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Moscow. |
| V.I. | <i>Vestnik Istarii</i> , a monthly Review in Russian, the organ of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Moscow. |

THE IRAQI-TURKISH PACT

By "M.E.M."



A map illustrating the new political alignment in the Middle East

Turkey and the Arabs

Ever since the end of World War I there have been rather cold feelings between Turkey and the Arabs. Recently, however, Turkey has sought to establish closer relations of friendship with her Arab neighbours. This was evident from a tour which a Turkish Ministerial delegation made in the Arab countries a few months ago. There were discussions at high level between Turkish and Arab officials, and the foundations were speedily laid for more co-operation between Turkey and the Arabs.

So complete was the agreement that was reached between the Turks and the Arabs on this score, that in the preface to a book in Arabic entitled *Turkey and the Arab World*, published in Egypt in December last, Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt, said:

"Whatever the nature of past events, the Turks and the Egyptians are today, as in the past, brothers again. They have remained closely linked with each other throughout history, and for centuries have fought side by side for the same cherished ideals. As in the past, the Turks and the Egyptians belong to the same family; and although certain conditions may have separated them temporarily, they continue to be the owners of the same valuable heritage. The Mediterranean is the common sea of the Egyptians and the Turks; and in the Mediterranean the Turks and the Egyptians have friends and enemies. Like the two countries, this Mediterranean sea is an inseparable part of the Middle East. If Turkey is secure, the Egyptians will also be secure. . . . If we are both strong, with our alliance we can create a huge force. The Turkish nation has never denied these facts, which are at the same time a source of faith for the Arabs. . . ."

The storm that raged

I have quoted the words of Egypt's leader on this question because just now, and only a few months after the book in which they appeared was published, they may seem to the Arab world and to many observers in the outside world not to ring so true. They started to seem untrue when an announcement was made by the Governments of Iraq and

Turkey in January last that they were proposing to conclude a Defence Pact between them. And no sooner was this announcement made than a violent storm of indignation arose in Egypt and in other parts of the Arab world. Egypt hurriedly called the Prime Ministers of all the Arab countries to attend a conference in Cairo to discuss Iraq's intention to conclude this alliance with Turkey. The Arab Prime Ministers (with the exception of the Prime Minister of Iraq, who was said to have been indisposed) duly attended the Conference. Many meetings were held. In the end the Conference was disbanded, without having reached agreement on any of the points it discussed, and without even finding it possible to issue a joint *communiqué* on the subject of their deliberations. A delegation of Arab Ministers was later sent to Iraq to induce the Iraqi Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'eed, to change his mind about this Pact, or at least to postpone the date of its signature. But it failed. There followed a slandering match between Egypt and Iraq by the Press and radio, in which the other Arab countries took part in varying degrees. Some Arab statesmen were on the other hand busying themselves with trying to effect a *rapprochement* between Egypt and Iraq on this question. But they met with little success. It looked then as if the Arab world was split overnight into two contesting camps — the Egyptian camp which included Saudi Arabia, Syria and the Yemen, and the Iraqi camp. The other Arab States, at least officially, sat on the fence. Things looked very sad indeed.

Then, suddenly, the Iraqi-Turkish Pact was signed in Baghdad during a hurried visit paid to the Iraqi capital by the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. 'Adnan Menderes. And within four days of the signing of the Pact there came a unanimous ratification of it by the Turkish Parliament, as well as a ratification by the Iraqi Parliament by 112 votes to 4. But the talk about the Pact in Arab diplomatic circles did not stop at this stage. Nor did the inflamed tempers cool down.

In the United States of America the Pact was welcomed wholeheartedly. In Britain Iraq was praised for "setting an expectedly fast pace in the general movement of the Arab countries towards closer links with the Western defence system". It was also hoped there that the Arab countries would follow the example of Iraq, which had accepted

military aid from the United States of America and suspended her diplomatic relations with Russia. In Pakistan, a country which already had a treaty binding it to Turkey, the Pact was welcomed "as an important step towards the establishment of a collective security system for a region with which Pakistan, by reason of her geographical position, her vital national interests and close religious and cultural affinities with the other countries of the Middle East, must naturally be closely concerned". In the United States of America, Britain, France and Pakistan, it was also earnestly hoped that other Arab States would soon join the Pact, which expressly provided for the accession to it of any Arab nation which desired to do so.

Why Iraq wants the Pact

I think I ought to start, in my attempt to bring the Iraqi-Turkish Pact in focus, by saying that the dispute between Egypt and Iraq on this question is one of principle, involving a clash of views in the two countries about the best measures to promote the future interests of the Middle East in general and the Arab countries in particular. It is not, as has been said by many observers in foreign countries, a dispute about the leadership of the Arab world, with Egypt feeling envious of Iraq's effort to assume the role of leader — hitherto the prerogative of Egypt. Such an assumption is false, and savours of Zionist mischief-making.

Why has Iraq wanted to conclude this Pact with Turkey? This perhaps is the logical question with which to start an inquiry on this subject. The answer is clear if we glance at the map of the Middle East. The geographical position of Iraq has placed her in the front line of any possible aggression by Russia. If Russia should invade Turkey in a future war, Iraq's safety would be threatened in no uncertain manner. The Iraqi statesmen, therefore, feel that in the safety and security of Turkey lies also the safety and security of Iraq. The fear of Russian aggression is far greater in Iraq and more real among her inhabitants than it is in the comparatively outlying Arab countries like Egypt or the Yemen. Iraq thus feels it natural that she should knit closer relations with her neighbour, Turkey. In fact, Iraq is already bound to Turkey by three other treaties signed in 1926, 1937 and 1946. Recently, Iraq severed her diplomatic relations with Russia and intensified her campaign against Communist activities in the country. She did this because she fears Russia and hates Communism. And she sees in the prospect of greater co-operation between her and Turkey an added guarantee of her safety.

Strengthening the military edifice of the Arab world

Egypt on the other hand, as her statesmen have maintained, is far from being neutralist and negative in her attitude towards the security of the Middle East against Communist aggression. She is also seriously concerned with the strengthening of the military edifice of the Arab world, not least because of the presence in its midst of a predatory and aggressive Zionist State which is ready to start war on the slightest pretext. And Egypt's concern for the security of the Middle East — it is further maintained — inevitably carries with it concern for the security of the Eastern Mediterranean, of which a large section of the Middle East is part. Egypt feels affected by any threat to the security of Turkey, since war in modern times has rarely been localized, and it is highly unlikely that the Arab countries could remain unmolested if war were to break out.

The Egyptian leaders thus agree that there exist many factors to justify a closer military relationship between Turkey and Egypt, to say nothing of such relationship

between Turkey and Iraq. Such *rapprochement* between the Arab countries and Turkey is, however, in the Egyptian view, at present unwise, and will continue to be so until certain major prerequisites have been fulfilled. In Egypt's view, the main consideration which must necessarily be taken into account by the Arabs, as well as any other States having the interests of the Middle East at heart, is that of the security of the Arab countries themselves. Here two major needs are in evidence. On the one hand there is the need of greater and more comprehensive unity and solidarity between the Arab countries. It is in their unity and solidarity that the Arab countries as a whole have the best hope for an adequate protection against molestation by foreign aggression.

On the other hand, Egypt says, there is the real need for the Arab States to strengthen Arab security in the face of the Israeli menace and that no alliance or relationship with an outside power should be allowed in any way to weaken Arab unity and solidarity, or the Arab shield against the danger of Israel. It is thus felt that the answer to the problem of the need of security for the Arab world lies in the strengthening of the Arab Collective Security Pact and in making it an effective device. Further, Egypt maintains that the Iraqi-Turkish Pact conflicts with the Arab Collective Security Pact, to which Iraq is a party.

Iraq's views on the Arab Collective Security Pact

The Iraqi reply to this is quite short. She maintains that the Arab Collective Security Pact has so far meant little in practice. For various reasons, no material improvement in the military position of the Arab States has come about as a result of this Pact. In the Iraqi view, the Arab Security Pact has proved to be little more than a reiteration on paper, in good-sounding phraseology, of the hopes and ambitions of the Arabs; and that such a Pact will certainly not deter Russia from aggression, Iraq maintains.

As to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact being in contravention of the terms of the Arab Collective Security Pact, Iraq contends that this is not true. The Arab Collective Security Pact emphatically states that it will not affect the rights of any member-State under the United Nations Charter. And this Charter allows member-States to conclude treaties, pacts, etc., for their security. This view has been put quite succinctly in a *communiqué* issued in Baghdad on 18th January. The *communiqué* said that Iraq was anxious to adhere to the Arab League Charter and the Arab Collective Security Pact in letter and spirit, but at the same time was determined to pursue a policy calculated to safeguard her security and independence so that she might be able to discharge her mission in serving the Arabs. The *communiqué* also recalled that Iraq's foreign policy was based on two main principles which had been laid down by King Faisal I, the builder of modern Iraq. These were: to strive for Arab unity, and to safeguard the security of Iraq in the light of her special circumstances.

The Arabs and the Western camp

Another objection which Egypt has to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact is that it binds Iraq to the Western camp, and would bring hostilities to her doorstep should war flare up between the West and Russia, in view of the fact that Turkey is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Egypt desires to see the Arabs united into a third and neutral camp and not to be drawn into a conflict in which they have no interest. Major Salah Salem, the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, said in this regard that Egypt was offered by the United States of America not long ago military aid to the value of \$10,000,000, but that it refused to accept this

aid because it thought that by doing so it would have bound itself irrevocably to the Western camp.

To this Iraq says that Egypt's treaty with Britain, which was concluded as a result of the evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone last year, has already bound Egypt to the Western camp to an extent not less than that in which Iraq would be bound by her Pact with Turkey. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty provides that Britain is to have the right to "re-activate" the Suez Canal base in the event of there being an attack on Turkey. Further, Iraq maintains, she had decided some time ago to accept military aid from the United States of America, and that decision did not evoke much comment or disagreement in the Arab countries. Iraq also says that according to the terms of the Pact with Turkey she will not be required to send her armed forces to fight outside Iraqi territory.

Egypt also says that it is wrong for the Arabs to co-operate too much with the West before certain outstanding Arab national problems are settled by the West — chief among these problems are those of Palestine and North Africa. To this the Iraqi reply is that the Pact with Turkey will not of its nature be prejudicial to Arab national causes, nor will it induce the West not to accede the rightful claims of the Arabs.

The Arab boycott of Israel

It is also maintained by Egypt that the Iraqi-Turkish Pact helps Israel, the bitter enemy of the Arabs. Egypt is alarmed at the growing friendship between Israel and Turkey. With Iraq exchanging information of a military nature with Turkey, and with Israel being such a good friend of Turkey, the military secrets of the Arabs may somehow find their way into Israel. This view was put forward in a statement by the Rector of al-Azhar in Cairo, in which he said:

"If it were not for the political considerations involved, we would have welcomed any alliance between the Muslim States, whether these States be members of the Arab League or not, because Islam stands for brotherhood among all Muslims. But we have to consider the aims of non-Muslim and non-Arab States in this matter. These aims, as every Arab knows, are harmful to the Arabs and are in the interests of Israel, which has usurped Arab land and expelled Arab women and children. It is these considerations which make the Arabs see in the Iraq-Turkish Pact a danger . . ."

Egypt also says that she opposes the Iraqi-Turkish Pact for economic reasons, because she feels that it might indirectly weaken the grip of the Arab economic blockade of Israel. "Egypt has no doubt that the Iraqi Government and people would want to hold fast to the policy of boycotting the arch-enemy of the Arabs," said a leading Egyptian journal. "She fears, however, that Israel might, through the exchange of economic assistance between Iraq and Turkey, find an opening from which it would penetrate into the Arab world, which has closed all doors in her face. Such an opening, no matter how narrow, would undoubtedly serve as a 'breather' for Israel."

The Arab boycott, it should be noted, appears to be becoming more effective. A report on the activities of the Arab Regional Offices for the Boycott of Israel during 1954 stated that fifty leading foreign companies severed their business connections with Israel and preferred to maintain their relations with the Arab countries. Seventeen other companies were blacklisted in all Arab countries for not submitting written undertakings not to do business with Israel. Many ships were put on the black list for trading with Israel. The Arab League Secretariat-General considered

recently the possibility of opening Arab boycott offices in London, Paris and Washington to explain to commercial firms in Europe and America the losses which they would suffer in Arab markets as a result of doing business with Israel. And it is feared that all such progress and endeavours would go to waste as a result of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact.

Iraq replies that she will never be unmindful of the tragedy of Palestine nor of the motives of Israel. The Iraqi-Turkish Pact will be administered in such a way as to prevent Israel from deriving any benefit from the new relationship between Turkey and Iraq. The Pact also provides that Israel cannot be a member to it, while the Arab States can. In fact, it is pointed out by Iraqi statesmen that Israel has already severely condemned the Pact because there is no room for her in it. On the other hand, the Turkish Prime Minister has recently stated that Turkey will give unequivocal support to the Arabs in seeking to put into effect the United Nations' resolutions on Palestine. All that, Iraq contends, bodes well.

These, in brief, are the main pros and cons of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact.

The storm is abating gradually

The storm which raged in the Arab world at the declaration by Iraq that she was proposing to sign this Pact with Turkey gave indications, not long after the actual signature of the Pact, that it was abating gradually. The threats which Egypt made earlier — that she would withdraw from the Arab Collective Security Pact and from the Arab League — have wisely been withdrawn.

Egypt is now diverting her attention to another matter. On 6th March she and Syria announced the terms of an agreement reached between them as a result of talks which the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, Major Salah Salem, had with the Governments of Syria and other Arab countries recently. The agreement provided for a joint command to supervise the training of military forces under it, and to organize and deploy these forces in accordance with a joint defence policy. This defence policy has the object of repelling any aggression against any Arab country. The joint command proposed will co-ordinate armament factories and communications required for military purposes. The agreement provided that it was open for any of the Arab States to join, but a basic factor of it was that members should undertake not to enter into foreign alliances without the prior consent of all the other members. The agreement also provided for the setting up of an economic board with the intention of strengthening the economies of member States preparatory to full economic unity; there will also be a central bank to administer Arab currency, and a company would be formed for shipping and other communications. Steps would also be taken to revise the trading systems in the Arab countries, and to exempt local products from customs duties. A statement issued by the Sa'udi Arabian Government soon after the announcement of this agreement said that King Sa'udi I was in complete and full agreement with the contents of the joint Egyptian-Syrian statement. The other Arab Governments may take some time before they make clear their attitude to this development.

Wise words

In conclusion, I think it is significant to note in the midst of this controversy that when Israel recently made her dastardly attack against the Egyptian forces in the Gaza strip, Iraq lost no time in expressing her sympathy with Egypt and to offer all help that Egypt might need. This showed, beyond any shadow of doubt, that although the Arab States

may quarrel among themselves and sometimes exchange hard words, they never forget that they are in reality members of the same family, and that their domestic quarrels will always be put aside when it comes to foreign aggression or molestation directed against any of them.

The Qur'an, as King Sa'ud wisely reminded the Arabs recently, says: "Those to whom men said: Surely people have gathered against you, so fear them; but this increased their faith, and they said: God is sufficient for us and He

is an excellent Guardian'. So they returned with favour from God and (His) grace; no evil touched them, and they followed the pleasure of God. And God is the Lord of mighty grace" (3:172-3).

How apt at one time, are now, and we hope always will be, the words of the Prophet Muhammad uttered some fourteen centuries ago: "The Muslims are like one human body — if any membrane of it becomes afflicted with harm the other membranes feel the pain and offer succour".

MUSLIMS IN AUSTRIA

By Dr. Isma'il Balic

How the small Muslim community in Austria has come to exist

For several years now one has been hearing more and more frequently exotic names like Ahmed, Emin, Enver, Hasan, Fatima, Yasmine and others in the Austrian schools. These names are spoken by little girls and boys with such self-assurance as if they were old Austrian names and not names from the novels of Karl May. The children who bear these names by no means look Eastern. They speak a genuine Austrian dialect; they wear Styrian suits; the boys slide and gambol about in their leather shorts, typical Austrian Sepperls.¹ They get enthusiastic over Punch and Judy, they dream of the Prater² in Vienna, they love snow, sledges, and skis, the Danube and the mountains. They feel themselves so closely connected with their Austrian country of mountains and rivers that they cannot imagine their lives in a different world. These children are the first offspring of several hundreds of marriages between Austrian women and members of different Muslim nations, mostly Bosniacs, who from very olden times belong to the picture of the Austrian mosaic of nations.

Usually, the Muslims make much of their religion, and they strive to preserve their sons and daughters in the religion of their fathers. The names of their children originating from the Arabic are a sample of the outward expression of the world-wide Islamic brotherhood.

According to an estimate of the Association of the Muslims in Austria which exists in Vienna and Salzburg, there are today several hundred children who have been born in Austria and belong to the religion of Islam. By far the greatest part of the Muslims living in Austria was driven to that country by the events of the two world wars. Some came to Austria because they served in different armies; others worked in labour corps; while others were inmates of different concentration camps. There are yet other Muslims who stayed on in Austria after the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The relations between Austria and Islam were friendly during the days of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Through the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina more than a million adherents of the Islamic religion joined the Austrian family of nations. The result was that the religious community of Islam was officially acknowledged in Austria by a law of 15th July 1912. The Mayor of Vienna, Dr. Lueger, was sympathetically inclined towards the Muslims, and before the first world war city of Vienna had planned to secure a site for the building of a mosque. Franz-Joseph I, the Emperor of Austria and Hungary, had offered 25,000

gold crowns for this purpose. The end of the first world war, however, destroyed this plan. During the time of the first republic an Islamic Cultural Association, which was dissolved in 1939, represented the interests of Islam in Austria. One of the leading Austrian Muslims connected with the Islamic cultural work in Austria was Baron 'Omar Ehrenfels, who is now Head of the Department of Anthropology, the University of Madras.

"The Association of the Muslims in Austria"

The number of adherents to Islam in Austria is estimated at several thousands. Their official representation is through the Association of the Muslims in Austria, which came into existence four years ago and which is executing the ecclesiastical duties for the members of the community through an Imam. In 1947, the scheme of building a mosque in Vienna was announced by the then Egyptian Ambassador to Austria, His Excellency Muhammad Sadiq, an uncle of the former Egyptian Queen Nariman. This raised great hopes in the Muslims of Austria. The plan supported by the Egyptian Government had to be given up, however, because of the Palestine War. Thus the celebrations of the 'Id festivals, the only two occasions for Muslims in Austria to meet each other, have to be held in rented rooms.

The Association of the Muslims in Austria confines its activities to the most urgent task of getting rooms for prayers, the housing of a library and solving the problems of the ecclesiastical duties in an effective way. It should be mentioned that a great part of the Muslim community consists of people who are poor and are in need of help and comfort. Recently the Association of the Muslims in Austria, whose work is expanding, received promises of help and support from the Austrian authorities, and even from Christian communities. These promises are causing new hope to rise and will make it possible to increase the social activities in the near future. Important Islamic organizations abroad have also promised their help. Some time ago the community received support from the Egyptian Red Crescent Society. It is encouraging to observe that in the newspapers of Turkey, Pakistan and the other Islamic States of the Near East the efforts of the Austrian Muslims are being followed with sympathy. Finally, it must be mentioned with a sense of special satisfaction that Austria is a model of tolerance in its treatment of religious minorities, and this fact helps to deepen the feelings of friendship for Austria in Muslim countries.

1 Equivalent to Joseph or Joe.

2 The Hyde Park of Vienna.

PAKISTAN

The Turkish President

(Friday, 18th February—

BROTHERS

The Turkish President

PAKISTAN

AREA : 364,737 square miles.

POPULATION : 75,842,000, of which 85 per cent are Muslims.

FLAG : The national flag of Pakistan is dark green with white vertical part at the mast, the green portion bearing a white crescent and a five-pointed heraldic star.

UNIVERSITIES : Five.



Above — His Excellency
of the R



Top left — His Excellency Mr. Jelal Bayar, President
the Republic of Turkey, is receiving the Degree of Doctor
of Laws, honoris causa, from His Excellency Mr. Ghulam
Muhammad, Chancellor of Karachi University, on 28
February 1955 at a Special Convocation

Middle left — A copy of the Holy Qur'an in a silver casket
is being presented to Madame Jelal Bayar by the Governor
General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad

Bottom left — The Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan
Navy, Rear-Admiral H. M. S. Chaudhry (third from left)
entertains the President of the Republic of Turkey on board
H.M.P.S. Himalaya. To the right of His Excellency Mr.
Jalal Bayar are seated the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr.
Muhammad 'Ali, and the Commander-in-Chief of the
Pakistan Army, General the Honourable Ayyub Khan

TURKEY

te Visit to Pakistan

ay, 2nd March, 1955)

BROTHERS

Capital of Pakistan

TURKEY

: 294,502 square miles.

ATION : 20,936,524 (majority is Muslim).

: Red with a white crescent and star.

RSITIES : Three. The Istanbul University has 12,100 students, out of which 2,546 are women.



ar, the Third President
Turkey

ght — Her Excellency Madame Rashida Jelal Bayar, the President of the Republic of Turkey, is receiving degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, from His ncy Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Chancellor of Karachi sity, on 28th February 1955 at a Special Convocation

right — The President of the Republic of Turkey ying to the Address of Welcome presented by the s of Karachi at Frere Hall on 19th February 1955

right — The All-Pakistan Women's Association, n, held a reception in honour of Madame Jalal on 20th February 1955. Our picture shows a group members of the All-Pakistan Women's Association Madame Bayar (first row standing, fourth from left)



The arrival of the Turkish President at Karachi

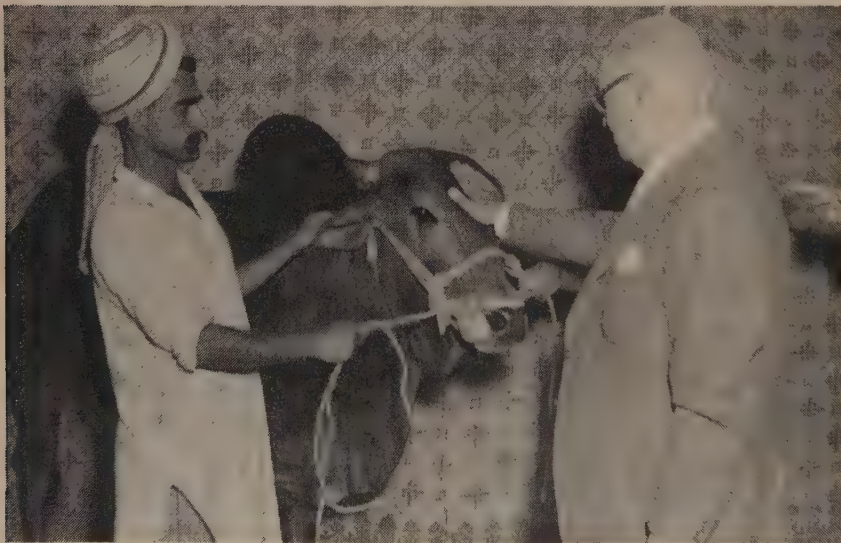
His Excellency Mr. Jelal Bayar, President of the Turkish Republic, and Madame Bayar, arrived at Karachi on Friday 18th February 1955. On landing, their Excellencies were welcomed by His Excellency Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Governor-General of Pakistan, his Cabinet Ministers and Chiefs of the Diplomatic Missions.

The President in the North-Western Frontier Province of Pakistan



The citizens of Peshawar, North-Western Frontier Province, Pakistan, gave a reception in honour of His Excellency Mr. Jelal Bayar, President of the Republic of Turkey. Our picture shows His Excellency the President receiving gifts from Pathans at the reception

The President in the Sindh Province of Pakistan



The Chief Minister of Sindh, Pakistan, the Honourable Mr. M. A. Khuro, is presenting on behalf of the Province of Sind a bull of typical Sindhi breed to His Excellency Mr. Jelal Bayar during his visit to Kotri Barrage

A squadron of the Pakistan Navy had sailed from Karachi to a point 300 miles away in the Arabian Sea, to escort the Turkish President's yacht, "Savarona". This was the first State visit of the Turkish President to Pakistan.

As the President descended the gangway, the Turkish guard-of-honour on board the Presidential yacht played the National Anthem. Pakistan artillery and gunners of "Savarona" fired a salute of twenty-one guns each simultaneously. The Governor-General then presented the Prime Minister and Begum Muhammad 'Ali to the President.

The President, accompanied by the Governor-General, travelled in an open car. As the car made its way at a slow pace, the crowd, which was very heavy all along the route, burst into cheers. All multi-storeyed buildings *en route* were full of spectators, who clustered on rooftops. Those on the roadside climbed car tops and trees. The route was bedecked by Pakistan and Turkish flags on both sides, and men of three services on both sides of the road presented arms as the President drove past. Over three hundred thousand citizens turned out to accord a befitting reception to the distinguished guests.

Address of welcome to the President by the citizens of Karachi

The Turkish President, in replying to an address of welcome at the colourfully-decorated Frere Hall Garden, amidst a gathering of nearly 3,000, declared that destiny had ordained that Pakistan and Turkey should walk hand in hand. He emphasized that the desire of Pakistan and Turkey to join their means and efforts for the service of world peace presented a great historical value, both from the point of view of its effectiveness and in affording an example to all. He assured his audience that Turkey and Pakistan joined their efforts in order to carry out their international obligations together, without losing sight of the limits of their possibilities and without being dragged into a vain delusion of prestige. Amidst great applause the Turkish President said, "It is my conviction that the agreements signed and co-operation effected between our two countries are merely a beginning".

Turkish President in Peshawar, North-Western Frontier Province

An Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, was conferred on the Turkish President at a special Convocation of Peshawar University. Speaking at the Convocation, Mr. Bayar said that progress could only be achieved if the intellectual life of a nation was governed by moral values. He emphasized the need of the right kind of education and international co-operation in bringing up under-developed areas to the level of advanced countries.

The problems he mentioned were moral balance, peace of mind and the survival of mankind. He posed three questions: Does technical progress tend to cause the decay of human culture?, does the material comfort provided by

technical progress tend to relegate to the background the moral life of man ?, and, are the terrifying forces at the disposal of man liable to become a means of annihilation in the hands of those who are devoid of moral and humanitarian ideals?

The President pointed out that if technical progress tended to neglect the importance of human culture, then it was directly a problem of education. He suggested that it was important for institutions of higher learning to attempt to arrive at a balanced system with selected curricula and a spirit with which to instil students. "It is by the manner in which the universities will be able to instil the true scientific way of thinking in the minds of the young that mankind will avert the danger of becoming the slave of matter." Coming to the third problem the President said it was linked with one of the present's most important problems, namely, the splitting of the atom. It had already been established, he said, that atomic power could provide untold benefits for mankind, yet it could bring unparalleled calamities also. President Bayar therefore suggested that nuclear research should either be stopped or that inventions made in that field should not be used by men of ill-will.

President Bayar's impressions of Pakistan

"Ever since I arrived in Pakistan and first came into contact with your people, I have been overwhelmed by the affection and hospitality extended to me and by the boundless feelings of confidence and brotherhood displayed towards the people of Turkey.

"Our Pakistani brothers are such good-hearted, good-willed people and inspire such confidence in their friends that those who have the good fortune to be the object of such sincere sentiments are under an obligation to try and live up to them. You can always rely upon your Turkish brothers.

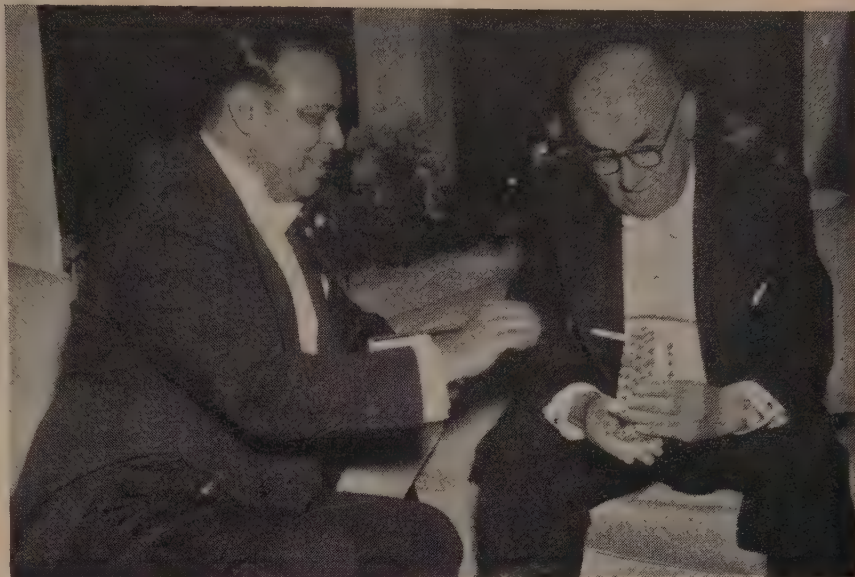
"Our countries are determined to work together with all the means at their disposal, in order to provide that goodness, truth and right which are so essential for real peace in the world. The faith and strength which we need in the struggle to overcome the obstacles that lie in our path are amply present in our hearts and bodies.

"Now that I am to leave the beloved soil of Pakistan, I have thus taken the opportunity afforded by the honour bestowed on me to define once again the brotherhood between Turkey and Pakistan, both from the point of view of our two peoples and from the angle of the entire community of peace-loving nations."

In his message of farewell to the people of Pakistan, President Bayar said that, from what he had seen of Pakistan during his short visit, he was able to say that the people were endowed with exceptional qualities and virtues. They were on the way to reach, speedily, all

the landmarks of progress ; the people of Turkey were proud and happy, and considered it a privilege to have such an outstanding brother-nation as Pakistan.

He said that Pakistan and Turkey had signed a treaty of friendship and collaboration, for the purpose of establishing peace and strengthening the defence and security of the area. He was happy to notice the strict discipline and efficient organization of the Pakistan Forces. He promised to convey the love and trust of the people of Pakistan for the Turkish nation, just as he brought the feelings of the people of his own country.



His Excellency Mr. Jelal Bayar is admiring a cigarette stand which the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, has shown to his distinguished guest



The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, is looking at a Turkish rifle which has been presented to him by His Excellency Mr. Jelal Bayar. Besides the rifle the President brought other presents which he is about to pass to the Governor-General of Pakistan

WHAT I SAW IN SA'UDI ARABIA

By Dr. Ibraheem 'Abdu

His Majesty King Sa'ud I, "who is daily giving examples of how the reactionary resistance to the advance of science can be broken down and of how the field can be left open for modern techniques to change a country and improve the lot of its people"

The lack of knowledge about Sa'udi Arabia

There are not many Arabs or Muslims who know a great deal about Sa'udi Arabia, despite the fact that so many books have been written about it. I am among the small number of people who have studied the history of the Arabian Peninsula, and learnt something about its literary life in recent years, and about its modern renaissance. I have felt, however, that my knowledge of this country was anything but comprehensive or adequate. Most of what I knew about Arabia was connected with the history of the Ka'bah and its surroundings, and about the mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad. I also knew something — which I gathered mainly from newspapers and journals — about the country's rich oil resources, and the romantic story of their discovery and development.

But recently I was fortunate enough to have an opportunity to increase my knowledge about Sa'udi Arabia. I spent several months there, during which I acquainted myself with the various aspects of the life of the people. And the conclusions I came to after all this time — and which struck me early during my stay in the country, and were constantly being reaffirmed and strengthened by my experience there — were that Sa'udi Arabia is a modern country, and that the belief current in the outside world generally, that it is behind the times and is feudal and reactionary, is quite fallacious.

The false beliefs

I have found in Sa'udi Arabia a constitutional system the foundations of which were laid down by the late King 'Abd al-'Azeez al-Sa'ud, who also built, strengthened and embellished its edifice after a long period of hard struggle. This system is a modern one, and not based — as is often



wrongly believed by outsiders — on the ancient and backward pattern of the life of the desert.

In Sa'udi Arabia, no longer is the camel "the ship of the desert". They use the aeroplane, the motor car and the railway for crossing the wide desert. The wireless is no longer considered "the voice of the Devil". The late King Sa'ud had succeeded in inducing the Shaikhs of the tribes and the religious leaders in his country that the wireless was no hellish gadget, because, as he put it to them, "the Qur'an can be heard on it . . . and the Devil can never recite the Qur'an".

So much did the late king do to introduce progressive and modern ideas into his country and break the opposition of reactionary leaders, that little cumbersome superstition exists today in Sa'udi Arabia to hamper the march of its progress on modern scientific lines. King Sa'ud, the present king of Sa'udi Arabia, who imbibed generously from the wealth of experience and sagacity possessed by his illustrious father, is daily giving examples of how the reactionary resistance to the advance of science can be broken down, and of how the field can be left wide open for modern techniques to change a country and improve the lot of its people.

The leaders of Sa'udi Arabia today have one main motto to guide their actions. They do not want to be left behind Europe and America in the matter of modern progress in any field of life. In recent years they have built and equipped a large number of schools in record time. They built miles of important roads throughout the wide spans of the country. In Jedda alone, one of the main cities of Sa'udi Arabia, it is estimated that on an average one big modern building, for housing or business purposes, is being completed every day the whole year round. Until five years ago the

population of Jedda was 40,000. Now it is nearly 250,000. And what is happening in Jedda is happening also in other parts of Sa'udi Arabia. By the middle of this year, the foundation stone will be laid of the first modern university in the country.

In short, the visitor to Sa'udi Arabia gets the impression that the country is not crawling or walking towards progress and development — it is marching fast towards it, and taking it in wholesale.

The new Council of Ministers

I can write pages about the new things and ideas which I saw being introduced into Sa'udi Arabia during the few months I spent there. I shall, however, confine myself to referring to a few of the more

significant advances which it has made recently. First among these is the setting up of a Council of Ministers. This new organization is likely to have far-reaching effects on democratic life in the country, and to bestow great benefits upon the inhabitants. Now Sa'udi Arabia has ministers with properly defined responsibilities and fields of action. Every ministry has its budget, and the minister has to submit periodic reports about his activities to the King.

The significance of this new phase in the political life of Sa'udi Arabia cannot be over-estimated. It means that for the first time in the modern era the policy of the State in Sa'udi Arabia has become unfolded before the people, and they have been allowed to express their opinions on State matters and to offer suggestions and criticism. The affairs of Sa'udi Arabia can be guaranteed never to be run in a dictatorial or despotic manner according to the whims and fancies of a few individuals. The new Council of Ministers has taken its duties very seriously. It meets regularly and for long periods to formulate plans giving effect to the wise directions of King Sa'ud, who has shown during the short period since he came to the throne that he is a man with a very progressive outlook and a wealth of energy.

The new Audit Council and the "Council of State"

Another significant idea introduced into Sa'udi Arabia recently has been the Audit Council. The Council has been granted wide powers by the King and authorized to investigate thoroughly the budgets of the various ministries and investigate any matter connected with the revenue of the State. This body will help Sa'udi Arabia in no small measure to put its financial house in order, and will prevent abuse of office by the servants of the State. It will also create in all



His Royal Highness Prince Faisal, the Heir-Apparent to the Throne of Sa'udi Arabia, is President of the Council of Ministers

those who are in Government service a sense of responsibility and carefulness.

Yet another new idea which has found its way into Sa'udi Arabia recently is a "Council of State". This Council is open to any citizen in Sa'udi Arabia who may feel that he has suffered an injustice at the hands of any Government department or Government official in the course of his duty. It has the power to investigate any matter complained of, and call upon the head of the Government department concerned to show cause for his action. It can order a Government department to pay proper compensation to an injured citizen. King Sa'ud, in his Speech from the Throne delivered last March, explained the reasons which have prompted him to establish this Council, and the functions which it would fulfil. He said that the Council was set up in pursuance of the teachings of Islam, which required that justice should be made available to all, and that there should be no immunity given to any person or organization. The Council has since been very busy trying to give effect to the purpose for which it has been established.

The new Municipal Councils

The fourth event of great significance which occurred in Sa'udi Arabia recently was the establishment of Municipal Councils in all the cities and towns in the country. This step was taken by King Sa'ud in fulfilment of his desire to give his people a greater share in the administration of the country and to develop among them a greater sense of responsibility in public affairs. These Municipal Councils will be presided over in each city or town by the local Governor, and will have among their members the local judges, heads of Government departments, and other distinguished personalities. The Councils have been given wide powers to formulate plans for the development of the area under their concern, and will have at their disposal a generous budget which they can use to effect reforms. The building of schools, hospitals and roads, as well as to the initiation of electricity and water projects, will be among the responsibilities of these local councils.

The new railways

Perhaps the most important development project in Sa'udi Arabia, and one which is likely to transform the face



A street in Jedda

During the last five years, the population of this town has grown from 40,000 to 250,000. It is expected that by the middle of this year the foundation-stone of the first modern university in Sa'udi Arabia will be laid

of the desert and have far-reaching effects on its economy, is the extension of the network of railways. Plans have been approved for the building of railways across the wide spans of Sa'udi Arabia, to augment the only railway line at present existing in the country and running between the capital, Riyadh, and Dhahran. The new project will connect Mecca with Jedda, and the latter with Medina. There will also be railways connecting other outlying districts in the country. This will be in addition to the proposed railway line connecting Sa'udi Arabia with Syria and other Arab countries to the north of the Arabian peninsula. Such a railway line is an old idea, and work on it was started during the Ottoman régime. It did not, however, materialize, for various reasons. The completion of this project now will go a long way

place to another throughout the desert in pursuit of water. Many of the bedouins of Sa'udi Arabia today have given up their traditional roaming and wandering, and have settled down in towns and villages. They have been given land and supplied with irrigation water by the Government, and are joining their country's armed forces. The Government has equipped these armed forces with the most up-to-date equipment, and has sought the assistance of well-known military experts to help in setting the country's armed forces on a sound modern basis. The result is that Sa'udi Arabia's army and air force compares favourably with the armed forces of any other country in the Middle East.

Finally, I should like to say a word about the recent expansion in Sa'udi Arabia's diplomatic corps. She is now



This picture records the entry of the first railway engine into Riyadh, the capital of Sa'udi Arabia

Plans are being prepared to extend the present track between Dhahran and Riyadh to Medina and Jedda

towards bringing the Arab countries closer together and demonstrating their economic and cultural unity.

The new military strength

A not so well-known feature of the life of the modern Sa'udi Arabia is the existence in it of a modern and strong army and air force. The country's armed forces, until about a quarter of a century ago, consisted mainly of nomadic bedouins who rendered irregular service and moved from one

represented by ambassadors and ministers in many foreign countries. The Government has sent many of its young men to foreign universities to train for important diplomatic posts and to gain knowledge and experience about the outside world. High hopes are pinned on these young men of Sa'udi Arabia. They will bestow on their country and people the benefit of their modern education, and will work in an enlightened manner for the continuation of the progress of Sa'udi Arabia

THE GARDEN OF CONTENTMENT

By William Bashyr Pickard

Great God, who made the sum of things,
Past, present, future, lift me on Thy wings
To hold aloft a light that shall
Vanquish darkness, vanquish hell.

The world grows full of demons, like the smoke
Of chaos-bombs or that dread lightning stroke
That flashes, shivers, shatters all that is
To what once was, through endless agonies.

Thou hast the Power, we have the means,
To save humanity from hideous scenes
Of horror and to bring again

Sweet reason's rule, contentment's reign,
If we will work with might and main
To make this Truth as noonday plain,
That kindness still is conqueror,
That violence hath vogue no more,
That love hath life to vanquish hate
(Else were all living desolate).
True gain is but to give — Ah! while we live,
Great God of Power Superlative,
To Thee we yield, we seek Thine aid
To walk that pathway Thou hast laid,
To bring again, which shall not fade,
The Garden of Contentment Thou hast made.



THE UNITED NATIONS REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Introduction

The *Summary of Recent Economic Developments in the Middle East 1952-53*, published as a supplement to the World Economic Report, covers Afghanistan and Iran, Cyprus, Turkey, the Arab States including Aden and the Trucial States, as well as the more important Arab countries.

In the introduction of this 128-page Survey, it is stated that in this part of the world in the period under review, deflationary tendencies appeared in the countries concerned with "varying degrees of intensity", the exceptions being Turkey and "some of the oil-producing countries". But "in spite of the deflationary trend, noteworthy economic progress was achieved, but, generally speaking, such progress was localized". The great expansion in oil only "affected the small number of oil-producing countries". Agricultural output showed a more widespread, though generally a smaller, increase. The increase in industrial production was slower but "was widely diffused in the region".

The effects of the boom in raw material and its conclusion were more in evidence at the end of the period under review. Trade was greater than in 1951; export prices tended to drop or to remain stable and the terms of trade tended to deteriorate, falling most sharply in countries where they had previously improved most. Trade tended to decrease in 1953 as most of the countries concerned tended to restrict imports owing to the fact that a trade deficit occurred in 1952. The first countries to experience this were the countries which depended largely on exports of cotton, such as Egypt and the Sudan. Those countries which depended on the export of cereals were less badly hit and at a later period.

In the oil-producing countries imports, on the whole, expanded, and foreign exchange reserves were increased. Iran, faced "with difficult internal situations, had recourse

to currency devaluation which enabled it to stimulate its exports". The loss of revenue from oil exports in Iran since 1951 had "very serious repercussions on the economy". A deflationary policy was carried out as well as devaluation.

Very many instances are given of the privileged position enjoyed by Turkey, a country which receives praise as high as possible. For instance, "in Turkey export trade and economic activity were kept at a high level by excellent crops, a large amount of investment and continuing foreign aid". Agricultural output in the Middle East rose by 7 per cent over the 1951-52 figure, the "per capita output being above pre-war level". This advance was largely due to increased production in cotton and cereals, while there was practically no increase in "cash crops and livestock", and, furthermore, this increase was due far more to "favourable weather conditions than to improvement in methods of cultivation; there was little expansion in irrigation". Progress in agriculture was "most marked in Turkey and, though to a lesser extent, in Syria and Iran".

Progress in the industrial sector was on the whole "slow" except in Turkey, Egypt and Iraq, where "important steps were taken in certain fields". There were important advances in mining and power also "in recently established branches of manufacturing, such as the metallurgical and chemical industries, where the possibilities of substitutions for imports were greatest". But there was a decline in the internal demand for other types of manufactured goods. The various countries took steps to improve their equipment and to develop large-scale schemes, such as power schemes which did not attract private capital. Industry was protected by "fiscal and other policies". In Iraq and Turkey the Governments set up or participated together with private capital in the setting up of new enterprises.

Economic and military aid received by the Middle Eastern countries

Turkey and Iran received economic and military aid from the United States; Jordan received financial help from the United Kingdom and assistance from UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees). The oil-producing countries received about \$500,000,000 in 1953 — an increase of \$60,000,000 on the 1952 figure. They also received a substantial amount of foreign exchange from "the local activities of the petroleum countries". But most of the countries, namely, Afghanistan, Egypt, the Lebanon, the Sudan, Syria and the Yemen, "received little or no outside financial assistance".

In spite of the stoppage of the flow of Iranian oil which accounted for a loss of at least 31,000,000 tons¹ per annum, crude petroleum production amounted to 106,000,000 tons in 1952 and rose to 120,000,000 tons in 1953, thus representing 18.4 per cent of the total world output. Proved reserves showed a rise of 28 per cent on the 1951 figure, amounting to 8,310,000 tons. On the other hand, the virtual shutting down of the Abadan refinery (amounting to a loss of about 25,000,000 tons per annum) severely reduced the capacity of the Middle East. Apart from Abadan, the increase for the year 1952 was 9 per cent. The domestic and industrial consumption of petroleum products, "excluding refinery use," increased considerably in all countries of the Middle East, but "consumption of petroleum is still at a very low level, given its availability on the one hand and the potential needs of the region and the lack of the sources of power on the other". It is stated in the Report that only a small proportion of the sums received as oil royalties are being spent on development, "despite the region's urgent need for capital". The Report, in taking notice of the falling off of trade between the inter-country trade, attributes it to a large extent to the fact that "the economies of the countries of the region are not complementary". Unfortunately, "trade between Israel and Turkey, however, showed a significant increase".² In general, the Report notes "economic development was most marked in Turkey. In certain other countries, such as Iraq, projects under construction are expected to result in an appreciable expansion of activity in the near future".

The proposed Arab Bank for Economic Development

The proposal for the establishment of an Arab Bank for Economic Development, which was discussed by the Ministers of Finance and National Economy of the Arab League countries in May and August 1953 envisaged that the Bank was to have a capital of £E.200,000,000. It was proposed that Egypt should provide £E.80,000,000, Iraq £34,000,000, Sa'udi Arabia £32,000,000, Kuwait £24,000,000, Syria £8,000,000, Qatar £6,000,000, the Lebanon £4,800,000, the Sudan £4,000,000, Libya £2,400,000, and Bahrain £800,000. Of the capital, 2 per cent would be payable in gold and the balance "in the currencies in which the member countries receive their incomes". One-quarter of the capital would be payable within six months of signing the agreement.

As a result of the conferences of the Ministers of Finance and National Economy of the members of the Arab League, agreements to reduce customs duties were ratified in 1953 by Egypt, Jordan, the Lebanon and Sa'udi Arabia. The same conferences further recommended that an Arab navigation company should be set up and also a "regional economic organization for the Near and Middle East".

The most noteworthy example of "bilateral co-operation between the countries of the region" was the joint project agreed to by Syria and Jordan to provide electricity

for the two countries and irrigation for Jordan from the Yarmuk River. The UNRWA undertook to reserve up to \$40,000,000 until 31st December 1953 to help this scheme. With the assistance of this self-same Agency, Egypt would provide irrigation in the Sin'ai Peninsula with Nile water. The two schemes are expected to "offer opportunities for becoming self-supporting to between 150,000 and 200,000 refugees". Also Jordan received \$11,000,000 from the Agency for a project to render 5,000 refugee families self-supporting, whereas Syria received \$30,000,000 for improving the conditions of refugees in Syria up to 30th June 1954. A further agreement has been made by the Agency with Libya for "the admission and establishment in Libya of 1,200 refugee families". The Report states that in June 1953 there were 872,000 refugees from occupied Palestine, of which 476,000 were in Jordan, 209,000 in Gaza, Egypt, 102,000 in the Lebanon and 85,000 in Syria. In the year 1952-53 the Agency spent \$23,000,000 on relief. As a result of an agreement between the Palestine Conciliation Commission and the Government of Israel, the latter released £1,000,000 in 1953 of Arab blocked accounts, and by January 1954 of this amount £242,000 was approved for distribution to 2,517 claimants.

In 1952, 389 experts were sent to the Middle East by the United Nations and "specialized agencies"; 92 went to Iran, 51 to Iraq and 46 to Afghanistan; 620 fellowships or scholarships were given to representatives of Middle Eastern countries. Some form of aid was given to nearly all the countries. Total obligations by the United Nations and its "specialized agencies" amounted in 1952 to \$4,700,000, spent on technical projects in the region, the Governments of the region pledging to contribute \$377,000 in 1952 and \$401,000 in 1953 to the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. Some of the Middle Eastern countries — the Lebanon and Syria — provided a number of experts for the work of the technical assistance programme.

Petroleum in the Middle East

The Middle East contained 53 per cent of the proved oil reserves of the world in 1953, and once a full survey of the region has been carried out this figure is likely to be much greater. The estimated oil reserves in millions of tons of the respective countries are as follows: Kuwait 2,444.3, Sa'udi Arabia 2,426.5, Iran 1,722.3, Iraq 1,470.6, Qatar 163.2, Bahrain 40.6, Egypt 28.6, Turkey 11.1.

In Sa'udi Arabia forty oil wells were completed and three discovered in 1952. The proved oil reserves in Sa'udi Arabia covered 562,700 acres, which showed an increase of 337,700 acres. In December 1953 the Huiya field was discovered. It appeared to be an extension of the Ghawar field. The Aramco carried out "extensive exploration and reconnaissance" in parts of its 440,000 square miles of concession area. In March 1953 the Wafra oilfield was discovered in the neutral region between Kuwait and Sa'udi Arabia. This oilfield cost \$3,000,000. Drilling activities in the oilfield resulted in the completion of five wells in 1953, capable of producing 15,000 barrels per day. In Iraq, the Zubair oilfield was extended in 1952 and oil discovered at Rumaila in 1953. In Kuwait a second oilfield was found at Ahmadi in 1952 which was considered to be an extension of the Burghan oilfield. Oil was discovered on the Trucial coast at Abu Dhabi in December 1953. In Turkey, the Turkish Institute for Mineral Research announced the finding of oil at Adi

¹ References to "tons" in this article indicate metric tons.

² It is absolutely essential that the Arab League should concentrate its efforts on winning over Turkey and persuading her to enforce a boycott of Israeli goods.—Ed., I.R.

Yemen in Malataya Province in 1953. In Egypt in 1953 the right of petroleum exploitation in the Wadi-Feiran region of the Sina'i peninsular was awarded to the Egyptian Co-operative Petroleum Society. Also in 1953 the Southern California Petroleum Corporation concluded an agreement, for supervision of drilling exploitation of petroleum, with the International Egyptian Oil Company. Work started in mid-1953. In spite of the crises in Iran an oilfield was found in the Qum area, south of Tehran, by the Iranian Oil Company, directed by the Seven Year Plan Organization.

In Qatar in June 1952 the Royal Dutch Shell was granted an off-shore concession beyond a three-mile limit around the peninsula of Qatar. The Company paid down £260,000 on signing a 75-year contract. The concession covers an area of 10,000 square miles under the sea. The Company formed a subsidiary for this purpose with a capital of £1,000,000. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company obtained a concession at Abu Dhabi in March 1953 for a period of sixty-five years. The concession covers an area of 12,000 square miles. It obtained a further concession covering 1,300 square miles at Dubai in conjunction with the Compagnie des Petroles in August 1952. The concession will last for sixty years. Two United States companies have also obtained a concession in the Trucial States, namely, in the Dhofar Province in the sultanate of Muscat and Oman. They are the Cities Service Company and the Richfield Oil Corporation. This concession was formerly held by the Iraq Petroleum Company.

The Pacific Western Oil Corporation and another American company are exploring an area of 700,000 square miles in the Lebanon. In Turkey in 1952 a law was passed to allow foreign and private Turkish companies to explore for oil. In the Yemen an area of 74,000 square miles was assigned as a concession to the German firm of C. Deilmann Berghan Gruh, which started a geological survey in the Salif coastal area.

New pipeline in the Middle East

The most spectacular feat in oil storage and refining was the construction of the Anglo-Iranian refinery at Aden which was completed in 1954. It has a capacity of 5,000,000 tons and cost about £45,000,000. In 1952 a pipeline, 895 kilometres long, was completed stretching from the Kirkuk oilfield in Iraq to the port of Baniyas in Syria at a cost of about \$115,000,000. It has a normal capacity of 13,500,000 tons per annum. A 120-kilometre pipeline stretching from the Zubair, Iraq, oilfield to the port of Fao was completed in 1953. It has a capacity of 6,000,000 tons per annum. A 220-kilometre pipeline, linking the Ain Zalah, Iraq, oilfield with the pipelines, already connected up with the Mediterranean, with a capacity of 1,400,000 tons, was completed in 1952. This pipeline is 220 kilometres long. A 135-mile pipeline from Baiji to Dora, the site of the Baghdad refinery, was under construction for the Iraq Government.

The pipeline capacity of Kuwait was increased to 60,000,000 tons per annum, stretching to the docks at Mina al-Ahmadi. The storage capacity of tank farms at Ahmadi rose to 4,000,000 barrels. The port and storage facilities were constructed at Mina 'Abdullah in the so-called "neutral zone" between Sa'udi Arabia and Kuwait, shipment of the oil starting in January 1954. In Sa'udi Arabia some 231 kilometres of pipeline were constructed, including 26 kilometres of underwater pipeline to Bahrain. In Qatar gas separating and pumping facilities were constructed and a pipeline from Fahahil to Um Bad. In Egypt £E.750,000 was spent on providing a new basin for berthing tankers at Alexandria and a further £E.2,000,000 was

allocated for the construction of two pipelines from Suez to Cairo for the transportation of fuel oil.

The Report states that production in the Middle East of petroleum has not reached its limits. "It was conservatively estimated that in October 1953 the unused producing capacity of the region amounted to almost 50,000,000 tons a year". Iran accounted for 35,000,000 tons of this figure and Iraq, Kuwait, Sa'udi Arabia and Qatar the rest.

The following were the figures of production of crude petroleum in 1953:

	tons
Kuwait	42,654,000
Sa'udi Arabia ...	41,566,000
Iraq	28,200,000
Qatar	4,003,000
Egypt	2,350,000
Bahrain	1,506,000
Iran	1,366,000
Turkey	28,000

Total ... 121,673,000 tons, or 18.4 per cent of the world produc-

Refining capacity dropped from 40,500,000 tons in 1950 to 23,600,000 tons in 1952, or from 9 per cent to 4 per cent of the total production of the region due to the virtual shutting down of the Abadan refinery. Apart from the Aden refinery, an Iraqi refinery at Dora was in construction at a cost of about £9,000,000. Its capacity is to be 1,000,000 tons per annum. In Sa'udi Arabia the capacity of the Ras Tanura refinery was increased by 1,500,000 tons and in Bahrain the annual capacity was increased by 2,000,000 tons. Refining capacity in Kuwait is being increased from 1,250,000 tons to 5,000,000 tons, and in Egypt the refinery capacity was to be increased from 350,000 tons to 1,500,000 tons by 1954.

The use of natural gas in the Middle East

There has been a considerable expansion in the use of natural gas and refinery gas in the Middle East. The Aramco in 1952-53 was constructing "a field pressure maintenance plant at Abqaiq to re-inject up to 1,600,000 cubic metres of high-pressure gases into the oil reservoir at a cost of \$19,000,000". Natural gases will be "saved for future exploitation" and "the operation of the plant will enable the Company to produce about 5,000,000 tons a year more from the Abqaiq field than would have been possible without repressurising". In 1953 a project for the construction of a nitrogen fertilizer plant at Dammam was under consideration. A United Nations expert recommended that the Qalif field should produce about 400,000 tons per year of ammonium sulphate with a nitrogen content of not less than 20.5 per cent, or the addition of gases from Dhahran and Abqaiq, if the Qalif field could not produce the requisite amount of gas on its own. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development recommended the construction of a plant to utilize the natural gases of the Kirkuk oilfield in Iraq and the production of 500,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, 100,000 tons of elemental sulphur, 10,000 tons of carbon black, and 300,000 tons of cement, at an estimated cost of £25,000,000. In 1953 an English firm studied the possibilities of this scheme at the instance of the Iraq Government.

In Iran the Seven-Year Plan Organization had negotiated with a Swedish firm for the production of chemical fertilizers, alcohol and cement through the utilization of natural gas. The estimated cost of this scheme is between £20-25,000,000.

In Egypt, Bahrain and Kuwait the utilization of natural gases is also being developed.

The uses of oil revenues in Middle East countries

In Bahrain in 1953, 7,749 people were employed by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, of whom 4,937 were local inhabitants, 1,035 U.S. nationals, British or other Europeans, and the rest came from Pakistan, India or "neighbouring countries". Apart from direct payment of \$6,500,000 in 1952 and 1953, the local expenditure of the Company in wages and purchases averaged \$5,000,000 per annum. In 1951, 35 per cent of the budget of \$5,300,000 came from customs dues and 61 per cent from oil revenue. One-third of the oil revenues goes to the Ruler, and part is invested abroad (18 per cent in 1950). Hospitals, free education, roads, bridges and shipping facilities have been provided from the royalties, while scholarships are given to students for advanced training in foreign countries.

Iran sold 135,000 tons of oil in 1953 to Italian and Japanese firms and 1,993,000 tons of oil products locally. The number of employees of the oil industry declined from 64,000 to 56,300. Recent developments which will lead to the oil flowing once more and a productive capacity of over 30,000,000 tons per annum do not, of course, come in the scope of this Report.

In Iraq, \$140,000,000 were paid to the Government by the oil companies in 1953. In 1952 it was decided that 30 per cent of the oil receipts should be allocated to the budget and 70 per cent to the Development Board, which spent over 170,000,000 Iraqi dinars (or pounds sterling) on various projects, such as irrigation and the projects advocated by the World Bank. Unfortunately floods in 1954 did damage estimated at ID.50,000,000 before the Wadi Tharthar scheme (costing ID.11,000,000) was completed to prevent such a contingency, and it is difficult to say what delay will be caused by this event.

In Kuwait the oil output in 1953 was valued at over \$500,000,000. The Kuwait Oil Company employed 8,200 people, including 1,800 Arabs from the neighbouring countries and 900 Americans and British. The Shaikh received nearly \$155,000,000 in 1953. Between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 of this sum was invested abroad as a reserve fund. In 1952 a Government department was set up to implement a \$400,000,000 development programme extending over a period ending in 1962. It was estimated that \$250,000,000 of this sum was to be spent in the first five years.

The Shaikh of Qatar received \$16,000,000 in 1953 plus \$732,000 in 1952 for the Royal Dutch under-sea concession. One-quarter of the revenue is apparently reserved for the use of the Shaikh. Half the 17,000 population lives in the capital, Doha, where buildings and welfare services are being built up.

In Sa'udi Arabia minimum wages were raised in the oilfields from 3 Sa'udi Riyals in 1950 to 5 in 1952. There was a strike in 1953 in the oilfields for higher pay and increased benefits. In 1952 there were 28,840 employees of the Company, of whom 14,820 were Sa'udi Arabs. The proportion of Sa'udis employed by the Company rose by 38 per cent over the 1950 figure. 11,170 workers were employed by contractors of the Company in 1952, an increase of nearly 5,000 on the previous year. The Aramco paid 47,500,000 (Sa'udi Arabian riyals) to contractors in 1952, an increase of 26,500,000 on the previous year. The Company helped local enterprise, the development of communities, railway facilities and other Government enterprises. In the year ending March 1953, it paid oil revenues amounting to 80 per cent of the Government revenue of \$198,000,000, while 10 per cent of this sum came from customs dues. It was thus possible for

the Sa'udi Arabian Government to abolish the Pilgrimage dues in 1952. The major development activities until recently were in the Province of al-Hasa, where a new port has been constructed, new towns have sprung up, an airfield has been built, highways laid, and, above all, a 357-mile railway from Dammam to Riyadh at a cost of \$52,000,000. In this Province several irrigation development schemes and other agricultural schemes and power plant have also been set up. 21.5 per cent of the 1952 budget of 758,000,000³ Riyals was devoted to development and agriculture. In 1952-53, 17.8 per cent of the Budget was allocated to defence, including installations, 10.4 per cent to internal security and tribal subsidies, 5.3 per cent to health, religious services, education, social services, and 3.6 per cent to Riyadh affairs.

In the Hedjaz an airport and a pier were constructed at Jeddah, highways and electric power plants, and facilities for water supplies. These and the extension of the present railway from Riyadh to Jeddah at a cost of \$220,000,000 are part of a \$350,000,000 development scheme which also includes the improvement of port installations at Dammam and Jeddah, the construction of sewerage systems in the big towns and power plants, government buildings, hospitals, mosques and a highway project costing \$30,000,000.

Development in Turkey

In the years 1952 to 1953 investments in previous years began to take fruit in Turkey. Development "appeared to be general, rather than confined to one or two special branches of economy". Most remarkable was the development of agriculture. Industry and other forms of the economy developed and "the rate of investment was maintained". The general public "increased its participation financially in development schemes". The trade deficit increased in 1952, although exports increased, owing to the "growing demand for capital goods". The agricultural income rose between 1948-52 by 33 per cent and the industrial income by 21 per cent. The income of farmers *per capita* rose by about one-fifth during this period.

The *per capita* income of the townspeople rose only slightly. In 1953 there was "a large influx of unskilled labour from the villages into the towns". In agriculture the cultivated area rose by 2,100,000 hectares to 13,400,000 hectares from 1950-52. In 1952 cereals accounted for 26 per cent of the total exports. Turkey exported 462,000 tons of wheat, thus ranking fourth in the world. Cotton production increased from 55,000 tons in 1947 to 165,000 tons in 1952, of which 69,000 tons were exported. In 1953 tobacco production reached a record figure of 118,000 tons. Cattle, including buffaloes and sheep, showed a tendency to increase. In 1952 the Government set up an organization called Et-Balik to develop industry and to trade in meat and fish. There were 40,000 tractors in Turkey in 1953 and 39 training centres, 77 repair shops, 40 mobile repair units and 102 mobile servicing teams. Agricultural producers enjoyed fiscal exemption from direct taxes. By the end of 1953 a further 160,000 hectares were irrigated, and plans were prepared for a further 360,000 hectares to be irrigated, including 144,000 hectares in the Adana plain. At the end of 1953 another large-scale project was announced: 134,000 hectares are to be irrigated in the Manisa and Izmir plains, and the Government has asked for a loan of \$25,000,000 from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. In the first ten months of 1953 177,300 hectares were distributed to 41,500 families; in all 650,000 hectares have been distributed since 1945.

Turkish industrial progress "was marked" in 1952-53.
3 10 Riyals = £1.

owing to the fruition of previous development, but local industry cannot meet the demands placed on it and it is, therefore, likely to have scope for further increase. Attempts to denationalize Government-owned concerns and enterprises met "with little success", owing to the lack of capital of private individuals and the lack of experience in forming public corporations. But small private concerns are developing particularly in the textile industry, where 56 per cent of the yarn was made by private firms in 1952. The Industrial Development Bank founded in 1950 had received 1,091 applications for long-term loans and had extended 139 loans in 1952. Foreign investment was further encouraged. Output rose in most industries in 1952, notably by 15 per cent in the mining industry. The Zonguldak coalfields are being developed to increase production from the 1953 figure of 5,000,000 tons to 7,100,000 tons in 1958. The ports of Eregli and Zonguldak have been completed. Three lignite basins are being developed in West Anatolia. The iron mines at Divriki are being mechanized and the sulphur mines at Keciborlu are being expanded by the installation of flotation and refining equipment in order to double their output. The Murgul mine, opened in 1951, has increased the capacity of Turkish copper mines to 25,000 tons per annum. Manganese mined by private enterprise, unaided by the Government, increased to 101,800 tons in 1952 from a figure of 22,600 tons in 1949. Textile production rose by one-fifth in 1952. There were 440,000 spindles in 1953 and 5,500 power mechanical looms in 1952. Imports of cotton fabrics were cut by two-thirds in 1952. Cement production was 1,025,000 tons in 1952. The Government aims at increasing this to 3,000,000 tons by building thirty-eight additional plants. Ten additional refineries are being constructed to increase the output of refined sugar from 210,000 tons in 1953 to 375,000 tons.

Development in Egypt

The sharp reduction in cotton exports caused a drastic readjustment in Egypt's trade, but development plans were pushed ahead to improve Egypt's economy. At the end of 1951 the difference in price between Egyptian and other kinds of cotton "was unusually large". Compilers of the Report take note of the "powerful upward pressure on the market, of which full advantage was taken by speculators". In the year June 1950—June 1951 the price of long-staple cotton from Egypt increased by 117 per cent as against a 32 per cent increase in the United States cotton. The result of this was twofold. First, growers more and more evaded the law restricting cotton acreage in favour of cereals, and, second, exports of cotton declined very sharply, from 386,000 tons to 255,000 tons in 1951. The new Government stimulated the production of cereals by deciding that the area planted to cotton should not exceed 30 per cent of any holding, and in 1953 the cotton acreage fell to 556,000 hectares, against 826,000 in 1953.

The fall in the quantity and value of exports and the increase in imports, particularly of wheat to fill the gap left by smaller cereal crops, led to a large deficit in the balance of payments. In 1952 Egypt had to draw on dollar reserves once the sterling reserves were exhausted to meet payments in sterling. There was a trade deficit of £E.55,000,000 in 1952. The wholesale price index dropped from 123 in January 1952 to 104 in December. Later it rose slowly. Industrial production was maintained but stock and unemployment increased. Bankruptcies rose from 120 in 1950 to 288 in 1952. Investment showed "a marked drop". The 1951-52 Budget showed an unprecedented deficit of £E.38,000,000. Government deposits fell from £E.67,400,000 in the National Bank in 1950, so that by the end of August

1953 it owed the Bank £E.3,700,000. The Government which came into power after the change of régime in July 1952 was faced with three major tasks: to restore equilibrium in the balance of payments, to balance the budget, and to set in motion forces raising Egypt's productive capacity. The steps it took to achieve its aims were: the abolition of the tax on cotton exports; restriction of imports in 1952, which reduced customs revenue; the introduction of barter deals with the Soviet Union by exchanging cotton for grain and with Eastern Germany and China; the floating of two loans totalling £E.25,000,000 to buy up the unsold cotton, allowing the price of cotton to drop until it fell to a competitive level. Imports were subjected to licensing and they were drastically reduced, falling by £33,900,000 in the first eight months of 1953 as compared with the corresponding figure in 1952. Cotton production was limited to 30 per cent of any holding. The wheat crop of 1953 was probably an all-time record.

The Land Reform of Egypt law in operation

400,000 feddans, or 6.5 per cent of the cultivatable land, came under the land reform act of 1952, limiting holdings to 200 feddans. 181,000 feddans had been expropriated by 1953. The land reform law has been supplemented by another dissolving family *waqfs*, that is, entailed estates which accounted for a sizable part of the cultivated area of Egypt. A land project to reclaim 150,000 hectares, mainly in the Delta, and to provide improved drainage for 86,000 hectares by 1956, at a cost of £E.11,700,000, is scheduled for completion in 1956. A plan for the settlement of Palestine refugees on 20,000 hectares in the Sina'i peninsula has also been approved. The distribution of wheat and hybrid maize seed to farmers has also been planned.

A gigantic scheme for the construction of a high dam near Aswan is under study. It is estimated that the capacity of this dam is 135,000,000,000 cubic metres of water, or twenty-six times that of the present Aswan Dam. It will increase the cultivatable area by about 850,000 hectares, or by about one-third. It will supply "all the remaining basins with perennial irrigation, enabling more than one crop to be grown a year each year; to expand the acreage of rice, which is dependent on water supply; and to provide flood control. It is estimated that the combined effect of all these measures will be to raise agricultural output by 50 per cent. The dam will also provide for 6,000,000,000 kilowatt hours of electricity per annum, which will be used for producing fertilizers, for irrigation and for industrial power. It has been estimated that the cost of the project will be about £E.200,000,000, construction starting in 1954 or early 1955". The Owen Falls scheme, in which Egypt and Uganda are partners, will, it is estimated, provide enough water for a further 400,000 hectares.

Industrial projects include a steel mill with an ultimate production of 500,000 tons (120,000 tons at first). A contract was signed last year with a German firm for construction of the steel mill. A large road programme has also been launched.

Measures have been taken to attract foreign capital. The provision in the 1947 Company Law which stipulated that, in all companies, 51 per cent of capital must be held by Egyptians, has been repealed. Another law promulgated in 1953 allows the transfer of profits up to 10 per cent of the registered value of the capital and the transfer of foreign capital after five years. With the same object in view, the Mining Law of 1948 has been repealed. The most important change is the deletion of the provision granting priority for a lease to a prospector only if it is an Egyptian company; licensees for prospecting now have priority rights in exploiting the area under licence.

EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

By Professor Supomo

His Excellency Professor Supomo



The Dutch educational policy in Indonesia

Politically, Indonesia is a new country. Although the problems of Indonesia have many features in common with South-East Asian countries they are, nevertheless, conditioned by its own political history. Indonesians had to wrest their independence from the Dutch by force of arms. They knew, however, that it was not enough to be free. They knew, as the American Winthrop once stated, that "slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of free men, with votes in their hands, are left without education".

This was Indonesia's legacy from the Dutch. Indonesians had a land of immense potential wealth and knew that the people must be trained and educated — not only to read and write but in the ways of government and citizenship — and citizenship not only of Indonesia but of the world. The leaders of Indonesia knew the value of education and the danger of ignorance.

Here, I think, I must give an idea of just what we are up against and that for the most part Indonesia's troubles are not of its own making, but are, rather, the heritage of colonial days. Colonial rule was based on inequality — on the principle of Western superiority and in the interest of the foreigner. The administration inevitably failed because it sought to alienate the Indonesian people from their own culture and tradition. It did not train Indonesians to administer their own country and was unrelated to the social and economic requirements of the people. Its function was merely the exploitation of the country's resources.

The Dutch educational policy — or rather their lack of policy — is typical of the colonial system. In almost every sphere this system could be described as dualistic — based on racial and social discrimination. There was a scale of public education for Europeans and for members of the Indonesian upper classes. The language of instruction and the teachers were Dutch at all levels of education — even foreign languages were taught via Dutch and by Dutch teachers.

There was another scale of education for the rest of the population. In the primary, or so-called Dutch native

schools, the lessons were conducted in Indonesian and Dutch. From these schools the children could go to the junior and senior secondary schools and thence to the institutes of higher education. In the secondary schools all lessons were conducted in Dutch and the whole conception of education was centred on Holland — its history, its language and its way of life. Everything was presented through Dutch eyes and was based on the superiority of things Dutch — or rather European. The whole system was far too intellectual and far too little time was devoted to character formation.

The Dutch did nothing to combat illiteracy

Nothing was done to combat illiteracy among the masses living in the villages. How serious this is you will realize when I say that about 90 per cent of Indonesians live in villages. Education in these areas was left entirely to village administration — which, of course, lacked all adequate means and facilities. Nevertheless, many villages succeeded in establishing village schools which offered a three- or four-year course — during which time the children received some rudimentary education in the local language. To give some figures — in 1941, that is the last year of Dutch occupation, there were 13,595 elementary schools with 1,879,276 pupils, 94 secondary schools with 19,338 pupils, and 276 vocational schools with 25,612 pupils. It need hardly be said that this was quite inadequate for a population of 80,000,000.

To return to higher education, not until 1924 did the Dutch see fit to establish higher education on a university level in Indonesia. Institutions for higher education were established for doctors, lawyers and architects, but those wishing to have a full university education were compelled to go to Holland. Only when it became obvious that men and women with a university education were required to meet the needs of a more highly developed administration did the Dutch establish schools of medicine, engineering and technology, law, agriculture and arts at university level. In 1946 all these schools were co-ordinated into the one University of Indonesia. Of course, higher education was modelled on the Dutch universities in every way.

During the colonial period there was, however, already

a strong national cultural movement aiming at the promotion of education on a nation-wide basis. This movement was headed by *Ki Hadjar Dewantoro*,¹ who established a national educational system of primary and secondary schools in many parts of Indonesia. These schools were private and not Government subsidised; lessons were conducted in Indonesian by Indonesians and emphasis was given to Indonesian culture and tradition.

At this time there were other private schools established by Protestant and Catholic missions — but they received Government subsidies and were modelled on the Dutch colonial schools.

At the time of the declaration of independence in 1945 only about 7 per cent of our 80,000,000 people were literate, and there was a lack of trained staff in every sphere of public life. This, it seems to me, is sufficient proof of the failure of the colonial system. Indonesians now hold their destiny in their own hands, and it is obvious that a revolutionary change in education policy is a primary condition for the creation of a new social order which will satisfy the needs of national self-assertion.

course, the Japanese tried to foist their own language and culture on the Indonesians, but fortunately their rule was so short-lived that this policy had no lasting effect, apart from the abolition of the use of Dutch. At the end of the war the Indonesians proclaimed their independence and were confronted with the need for reconstruction on a national scale, and not the least of their problems was that of education.

The train of thought that underlies the national cultural movement in Indonesia

Before I actually describe the educational system of Indonesia and its hopes for the future in terms of school-children and school buildings, I would say something about the principles underlying its educational policy and the aims which Indonesians have in mind. The new system will play a vital part in rebuilding Indonesia. It will revive Indonesia's national culture, at the same time helping its people to meet the exigencies of modern life. Since each country is increasingly drawn into the orbit of world affairs and almost every economic and political trend has international repercussions,



Indonesia suffers from lack of suitable school accommodation. To overcome this handicap all available suitable premises are being pressed into service.

Our picture shows a high school class meeting in a temporary building. It will be noticed from the picture that co-education is practised in Indonesia

Before Indonesians finally achieved their independence they were subjected to occupation by the Japanese. On their arrival they closed all schools without exception, but in time, having revised the curricula, they allowed primary and secondary schools to be re-opened. The teaching of Dutch was forbidden; lessons were conducted in Indonesian and Japanese was taught in all schools. Towards the end of their short rule the Japanese re-opened the school of medicine in Djakarta and that of technology in Bandung. These were both staffed by Japanese and Indonesians. The Japanese also established a higher institution for public administration. The one good result of this occupation was the stimulation of the use of Indonesian as the language of instruction and of official correspondence, and the strengthening of the feeling the new Indonesia must be founded on creative nationalism of unity among the several ethnic groups in Indonesia. Of

and sound internationalism. In other words, the revival of its cultural heritage should go hand in hand with the efforts of Indonesians to bring the internal economic and social development of Indonesia in line with the demands of modern Statehood in order that Indonesians may play their part in world affairs.

Last year a very eminent compatriot of mine said that the Indonesian people were suffering from a general indolence — from a kind of cultural pessimism — which has caused a loss of confidence in its own strength and capabilities. This intellectual paralysis, he said, had given birth to an idolization of everything hailing from abroad. The Minister of Education endorsed this viewpoint. He too had noticed this lack of confidence which, he said, would bar the way to our spiritual development and national progress. Admiration of the West, he continued, was all very well, but it must never be allowed to override the wealth of traditional culture which is our heritage. This train of thought underlies the whole

¹ *Ki* is the title bestowed by the people on their learned in religion and famed for their piety.

conception of national life in Indonesia. Indonesians seek to retain what is good and constructive of the old and combine it with the vitality and efficiency of the new; in other words, they want to revive and modernize their national culture. This is the theme of the programme of reconstruction in Indonesia.

The problems which Indonesians face, such as shortage of teaching staff and equipment, are at least offset to some degree by the fact that they have the opportunity of moulding a completely new educational system to a definite plan. Their aim is not merely to teach people to read and write, although this must be their immediate objective, but to guide them during the process of reintegration and to ensure that the philosophy of their education is the philosophy of their country. So the five principles on which the State of Indonesia is founded also govern its education programme.

First of all, there is the principle of divine omnipotence, which implies a certain amount of emphasis on the cultural heritage of Indonesia, which is, in itself, essentially religious.

Secondly, there is the principle of humanity, in accord-

on them that our conception of education is based. Article 41 of our Constitution states that the authorities shall provide for the education of the public and shall have as basic objectives the deepening of national consciousness and the strengthening of Indonesian unity, the stimulation of a communal spirit, of tolerance, and of equal respect for different religious convictions. The Indonesian Education Act of 1954 not only reaffirms Pantjasila but states that the aim of Indonesia's educational system is to imbue Indonesian students with a feeling of responsibility towards the State and to help them become mature and useful-citizens.

At first glance the general terms of these provisions may appear to be rather sweeping, but they form the broad basis of a scheme designed to meet the immediate needs of a widely scattered and largely illiterate population. Indonesians face not only the familiar problems of an underdeveloped region but they have also to contend with the results of a prolonged foreign occupation. First of all, Indonesians abolished all traces of the Japanese occupation and of the previous Dutch régime. Racial and social discrimination

Children of a kindergarten school at a party. Children in Indonesia at a kindergarten "seem to spend all their time singing, dancing and playing, as children do all over the world"



ance with which its leaders are anxious that its people should realize their responsibilities towards their fellow men.

The third principle is that of nationalism. Indonesians want to build a nation, and they as citizens must be made aware of the fact that they belong to, and have a duty towards, this new State. Indonesian nationalism should not, however, be interpreted in any chauvinistic spirit, but rather in the sense of upholding the best of the living traditions of Indonesia and combining them with more modern influences.

Fourthly, it is hoped that the principle of social justice will help the people of Indonesia to understand the mutual responsibilities of society and the individual.

Democracy is the last of these five principles. Only a few weeks ago President Sukarno stressed, at an all-Indonesia election conference, that Indonesian democracy is founded upon true brotherhood — upon mutual aid and service — on co-operation and on public discussion of national affairs.

These five principles are known as Pantjasila, and it is

disappeared and from the wreckage of the past they began to construct their future.

The two-fold task before Indonesians

The task before us was two-fold — to establish a national educational system for the youth of Indonesia and also to provide some method of mass education for the adult population.

Indonesians were, and still are, faced with tremendous difficulties. There is a general lack of school buildings, staff, textbooks and every type of equipment. As I have said, under the Dutch colonial administration lessons were conducted in their language, and consequently all books were printed in Dutch. Now they have to start from scratch, to print new books and restock their libraries with works in Indonesian, paying particular attention to those dealing with the history and cultural background of their people. They must devise new technical terms, the systematic development of which has, hitherto, been neglected in the Indonesian language. To this end a committee has been set up and has already done

useful work. The general exodus of Dutch people from public administration and the professions has led, among other things, to a serious shortage of teachers. Indonesians have established teachers' training colleges all over Indonesia, but, as an emergency measure, many of their university students are called upon to teach in secondary schools.

My next point will give food for thought, when I tell you that many Indonesian professors accept double assignments by volunteering to teach, without remuneration, in some of the newly-established institutes. One sixty-year-old professor taught at the University of Indonesia in Djakarta, gave courses in a Muslim university and in a secondary school and lectured to teachers in Jogjakarta and Surakarta. His case is no exception.

The present educational system in Indonesia

A few words about the present educational system in Indonesia. In 1951 the Government initiated a ten-year plan, and it is hoped that by 1961 it will not only have achieved universal compulsory education but that illiteracy will have been completely abolished. As a matter of fact, compulsory education will be tested out in the Lombok area this year. I should add that by compulsory education I mean attendance at primary schools for a full six-year course. One other point of general interest is that all Indonesian schools and colleges are co-educational. However, let us start from the bottom of the scale. From the age of four to six our children attend kindergartens, where they seem to spend all their time singing, dancing and playing, as children do all over the world. But it must be remembered that for Indonesian children such an experience is quite new within the classroom. At the age of six children attend primary school, embarking on a six-year course, during the first three years of which all lessons are conducted in the local language, for example, in Balinese or Javanese. From the fourth form upwards the language of instruction is Indonesian. In order to admit as many children as possible, the size of classes has been increased to fifty, but even so, not every child is yet able to benefit from primary education, and in rural areas children do not attend school until they are eight years old. Overcrowding is so extensive, in fact, that in many schools a shift system has had to be introduced. This, however, like so many other things, is simply an emergency measure, and will be discontinued as soon as possible.

In order to maintain a certain uniformity in education, all primary schools are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, which prescribes the curricula, selects the textbooks and regulates holidays. Each province, however, has its own department of education, the head of which is responsible to the local administration board. The provinces also have their own boards of inspectors who actually carry out the work of supervision in primary schools. It is hoped that eventually there will be one primary school for every 2,000 inhabitants — which means some 35,000 schools, quite a tall order! The Government fully realizes that without the grounding afforded by a sound primary education, the people's standard of living will never be raised. This explains the sense of urgency and the priority which is given to primary education in Indonesia. It is the first big step in the right direction.

JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

From primary school some children go on to junior and senior high school, where they are required to learn English as a second language. After three years in the junior school they go on to a further three-year course in the senior school.

It is at this stage that a certain amount of specialization is introduced — in science, economics or arts. English is still compulsory, together with either French or German, although arts students are required to learn all three languages.

An alternative to the senior high school is the vocational school, where a more specialized education is provided and training offered in such subjects as domestic science, journalism and commerce. In addition, there are other schools devoted to particular studies which are controlled by the relevant ministries. For example, agricultural schools are under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture; technical schools for aircraft and marine personnel come under the Ministry of Defence; and the pharmacy school is controlled by the Ministry of Health.

ACADEMIES FOR SPECIALIZED TRAINING

On a higher plain there are the academies which offer specialized training for careers in the police force, journalism, political science, music, art, diplomacy, physical training and teaching. These too are sponsored by the ministries concerned and are playing a vital part in Indonesia's immediate programme of reconstruction. They are providing the first generation of those who have received specialized training in national establishments and on whose shoulders must inevitably fall the onus of initial reconstruction.

At the moment the teachers' training colleges receive a certain amount of priority since, although classes may be, and often are, held in the open air where there are no buildings, without the necessary number of trained teachers Indonesia's education plan will not be accomplished in the ten years allotted to it. The number of training colleges is being increased as rapidly as possible, but even so the ever-growing demand is constantly outstripping supply.

Apart from the professional classes, Indonesia is also extremely short of technicians in every branch of industry, and consequently has to devote a good deal of attention to the development and expansion of technical schools and colleges. The lower technical schools form an alternative to the junior high schools and, after a two-year apprenticeship there, successful students may proceed to the higher technical schools, where more advanced instruction is given in architecture, mechanics, electrical engineering, radio work and other allied subjects. The whole question of technical education is constantly under review, and only last month the Association of Indonesian Engineers made a firm declaration of policy, stating that technical training must be based both on the present needs of society and also on the requirements of the long-term reconstruction programme. The Association stated that for the time being stress must be laid on practical training to meet immediate demands and that the theoretical level would have to be improved gradually. Emphasis was given to the need for attracting foreign technicians for both practical work and instruction and for taking full advantage of the facilities offered by the various international organizations.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

Now we come to the top of the educational tree — the university. During the Dutch régime the express purpose of the university was to promote scientific research and vocational training — both very commendable aims, but now we want more. We visualize our universities as great cultural centres, not only for Indonesia or even for the East, but for the world. Hand in hand with this ideal goes our conception of the university as the instrument of international understanding and goodwill. In particular, the University of

Indonesia has taken the lead in the field of inter-university relations, establishing contacts with universities in the United States, Europe, Asia and Australia. In 1952 the University became a member of the International Association of Universities which was founded in Nice in 1950 and whose headquarters are in Paris, and Indonesian students have attended international conferences in many parts of the world.

There are at the moment three State universities in Indonesia — none of which, incidentally, are residential. The Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta, the University of Indonesia in Djakarta, of which I was President, an office which I suppose approximates to that of Vice-Chancellor, and the new Airlangga University at Surabaya. The Indonesian Government is also planning to found a university at Makasar on the island of Celebes and another in Central Sumatra during the course of 1955.

During the revolution in 1947, the temporary home of the so-called revolutionary government was Djogjakarta, and this is where Indonesia's national university, the Gadjah Mada, was founded. As one can imagine, it has a very special place in the hearts of the Indonesian people, and I shall always be proud to have been one of its founders. Gadjah Mada, by the way, was Prime Minister of the Indonesian Empire of Madjapahit during the middle of the fourteenth century. At that time all the Indonesian islands, as well as the Philippines and Malaya, were under the sovereignty of the Emperor Hajam Wuruk. In 1950 the Government took over the former Dutch university in Djakarta, which became officially known as the University of Indonesia. This university is constantly expanding and now has branches in Bandung and Bogor. At the moment a student town is being constructed in the suburbs of Djakarta which will eventually house some 7,000 students. It will cover about 50 acres, comprising lecture rooms, laboratories, dormitories and recreation rooms, and it should be completed in ten years. There is another student town under way for the Gadjah Mada University of about the same size. There are, of course, other universities in Indonesia which are outside the sphere of the Ministry of Education, being privately controlled, one Christian and six Islamic universities.

Religion in Indonesia

At this point I think I might say something about the attitude of Indonesia towards religion. About 90 per cent of Indonesians are Muslims, so that Islam plays an important part in the life of the country; but since Indonesia is a secular State all religious convictions are respected. Opportunity for religious instruction is provided in all State schools, but it is not compulsory. On the other hand there are private schools, some of which are Muslim, and these are divided into two categories, the *Madrasah* and the *Pesantren*. The *Madrasah* school devotes a good deal of time to the teaching of Islam, but ordinary subjects are also included in the curriculum. From the *Madrasah* students go to Muslim junior and senior high schools, and thence to one of the Islamic universities. There are also training colleges for teachers of Islam and Islamic law. The other type of Muslim primary school is the *Pesantren*, which provides religious instruction only here and there and pupils are taught individually.

The Government of Indonesia is not yet in a position to provide free education, but fees are very low and Government subsidies are available. In the academic year 1954/5 over 3,000 scholarships were awarded in Indonesia, and 198 were won by students studying abroad.

Mass education programme

There is one final aspect of education in Indonesia about which I must say a few words. In 1951 we also embarked upon another ten-year campaign, that of mass education. Cicero once asked, "What greater gift or better can we offer to the State than if we teach and train up youth?" I would answer "None", but in Indonesia this in itself is not enough, for the majority of adults in Indonesia are still unable to read or write, and until Indonesians have won the battle against illiteracy they cannot hope to construct a sound and dynamic republic. I believe the potential progress of Indonesia to be commensurate with the quality and development of the education which it can offer its citizens, and, this being so, Indonesia cannot afford to ignore the challenge of mass illiteracy.

Under the auspices of the Mass Educational Service a network of centres has been established, and a graded system of instruction evolved. A committee on mass education has been established in every sub-district, which will advise the people or discuss their suggestions for improved methods of tuition. The recommendations of these committees are considered and, if possible, implemented by the central department of mass education.

The initial stage of instruction is the A, B, C course, and each committee has to found as many courses as possible in order to eliminate illiteracy with the minimum delay. All Indonesians over the age of 13 are eligible for attending these courses and are assembled in classes of from five to forty, according to circumstance. Similarly, classes are held just when and where the opportunity occurs. The actual initial course covers a period of six months — three months in which to learn rudimentary reading and writing and three months for practical application.

As soon as a person is able to read and write he is encouraged to teach those who are unable to do so. Students progress from the elementary course to more advanced study groups, acquiring as they do more general information and eventually specialized knowledge. Potential teachers are issued with official guides, and the books provided are printed in Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese and Batak.

The department also runs courses designed especially for women, classes in mothercraft, hygiene, handicrafts, domestic science and so on. Another important feature of the department's work is the establishment of folk libraries. These, of course, are becoming increasingly popular as more and more people learn how to read. They provide not only books, but also facilities for quiet study and the necessary writing materials for those who would be unable to obtain them elsewhere. Close contact is also maintained with the various youth movements, including Scouts, and with the women's organizations. This service is, in a way, providing education in its very broadest and truest sense, since it is, in fact, teaching the people of Indonesia how to live.

STATE EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

GENERAL EDUCATION.	1939-40	1954
Elementary schools	18,091	32,223
Elementary school teachers	40,583	109,864
Elementary school children	2,021,990	6,285,432
Secondary schools	144	2,737
Secondary school teachers	1,607	21,986
Secondary school children	26,535	404,981
University faculties	6	138
University students	1,734	17,387
Teachers' training colleges	—	540

University of Indonesia (7,205 students):

Faculties of arts and philosophy, natural science, agriculture and veterinary science; medicine, law and social science, economics, education.

Gadjah Mada University (7,339 students):

Faculties of arts and philosophy, law and social science, medicine, technology, agriculture and veterinary science.

Airlangga University:

Faculties of law, economics and social science, education, medicine.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

Scholarships awarded in Indonesia	3,410
Scholarships tenable abroad	198

MASS EDUCATION.

Number of illiterates in 1939	79,134,105
Number of illiterates in 1954	32,321,232



SA'UDI ARABIA, by H. St. John Philby. Ernest Benn, London, 1955.

The writings of Mr. Philby on Sa'udi Arabia need no commendation. For the past twenty-five years he has been accepted as the leading authority on this country. After a period of eclipse during the last great war, he has written in all four books on Arabia, including the present volume. Mr. Philby, a former British, or rather Indian Civil Servant, chose to throw in his lot with King 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sa'ud. He settled down in Sa'udi Arabia, where he became a successful business man and won himself a name as an authority on, and explorer of, the Holy Land of the Muslims. In his latest works, written during the last years of the great founder of Sa'udi Arabia, Mr. Philby distinguished himself by his courage in criticizing the most flagrant shortcomings of the régime at the risk of placing his own favourable position in jeopardy. It redounds much to the credit of King 'Abd al-'Aziz I al-Sa'ud (Mr. Philby emphasizes that he was the second 'Abd al-'Aziz and not the first) and of the courageous critic, that no sanctions were taken against Mr. Philby. Also in this book the author attacks fearlessly corruption, nepotism and ineptitude.

The author, while pointing out the generous character and the greatness of 'Abd al-'Aziz II and his love of rewarding and maintaining his friendship with his intimate circle of friends, shows that the late King was quite incapable of coping with the problems of modern finance and technical development and that he only made his eldest son, Sa'ud, Premier, and another son, Faysal, Foreign Minister shortly before his death, so that these two have had little or no time to build up the adequate machinery indispensable for a modern government.

Mr. Philby is full of appreciation of the present King Sa'ud Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brother, Faysal. He also expresses admiration for the former Minister of Finance, Abdullah Sulaiman, whom he claims to have been the "only member of the administration who habitually acted on his own initiative and authority, in the justifiable conviction that his acts would meet with His Majesty's approval".

Mr. Philby has many pertinent comments to make on British diplomacy and its relations with King 'Abd al-'Aziz during the years of his rise to power. These pages are among the most stimulating of this brilliant book. But he puts the military wartime rank of Lawrence, his colonelcy, in inverted

commas. Although Mr. Philby is justified in treating with contempt the cowardly flight of the Hashemite rulers before the troops of that great warrior, 'Abd al-'Aziz II, he is not equally justified in treating that great writer and campaigner for Arab rights, Mr. T. E. Lawrence, with so little respect. It should be remembered that Lawrence fought almost single-handed against the greatest statesmen of the world, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, at Versailles, and that once he felt the cause was lost, he joined the Royal Air Force as a humble aircraftsman and was only rescued from obscurity by the exceptional brilliance of his as yet unmatched writings.

Mr. Philby does well to tell his readers that the so-called Wahhabite movement received its name from foreign sources. He opposes all talk about fanaticism of the people of the Nadjd. He points out that the Nadjdis belong to the Hanbali school of thought in Islam, that they are not supermen, and that they are capable of great things only under the right leadership.

The author has a profound knowledge and personal experience of the moves which led up to the economic development of the country in which he has himself played a prominent part. The references relative to this interesting phase of the history of the country are thus of considerable importance. However, the greater part of this book is devoted to the history of the country prior to the advent of King 'Abd al-'Aziz II. The material is very comprehensive and the general historical account is well told.

THE MINT, by T. E. Lawrence. Jonathan Cape, London, 1955. Price 17/-.

The Arab reconquest of the Muslim Holy Land and the resulting breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the inevitable decline of the Caliphate are bitter memories for the Muslims. The Hashemites, as is well known, did not long derive benefit from their British-sponsored success. They were driven out of the Hedjaz by 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud and out of Syria by the French, with whom the British had signed the infamous secret Sykes-Picot Treaty, giving the French a sphere of influence in Syria. The Hashemites were compensated with newly-created kingdoms in Iraq and Transjordan. T. E. Lawrence emerged from all these intrigues as a figure of legendary fame. His skill as a military leader in

desert warfare has been conceded by the late British Field-Marshal Allenby and Wavell, Sir Winston Churchill, and Sir Ronald Storrs, who sent him to the Hedjaz. Whether any other man could have done the job better in the interests of British imperialism is still hard to tell. To us it is at least clear that the salvation of the Arab world lies in the hands of the ordinary Arab and that all ventures supported by British or foreign agents must inevitably result, as did the so-called "Arab revolt", in disappointments.

Lawrence's championship of the Arabs against the French imperialists is the happiest part of the activities from a Muslim standpoint, and his frustration and disgust at the duplicity of the Franco-British Governments might well have turned him into a potential fascist leader bent on sweeping away "bourgeois democracy".

The Mint, a scrappy expurgated version of his post-war service memories as an air craftsman, does nothing to enhance his reputation as a writer nor as an outstanding personality.

HELLO BABBITT! by Mostafa Beshir, and **LETTRE AUX FRANCAIS**, by the same author. Both published by *Les Cahiers de l'Unité Arabe*, 15 rue des Jardins, Maadi, Cairo, Egypt, 1954.

Mostafa Beshir, a former officer in the French army, died in Egypt on 23rd February 1954. He was the Cairo correspondent of the moderate Algerian nationalist weekly French paper, *l'Algerie Republicaine*, Algiers. He also wrote several short books against French imperialism in North Africa. His wife tells us in the introduction to *Hello Babbitt!* that this was his last work. He was closely associated with the Moroccan nationalist leader, Si 'Allal al-Fasi, who has written the preface to *Hello Babbitt!*

In the earlier pamphlet, *Lettre aux Francais* (A Letter to the French People), Mr. Mostafa Beshir states that France has turned Morocco into a "heaven" for the French colonials and a "hell" for the Moroccan people, and that the Moroccans demand nothing less than complete independence. He passionately defends Islam, the Moroccan Sultan, Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, and the nationalist leader, the brilliant and modest Muslim intellectual, 'Allal al-Fasi. He levels many accusations against the Pasha of Marrakesh, Thami al-Glawi. He produces evidence to show how the French administration is absorbing the Moroccan taxpayers' money. Finally, he quotes Marshal Lyautey's famous circular of 18th November 1920, in which he warned the French that Bolshevism had already resulted in counter-movements in Egypt and Libya and that Algeria and Tunisia were already "profoundly stirred up" and therefore, in his opinion, "the best palliative was that the Moroccan *élite* should as soon as possible be provided with the means of achieving its evolution by satisfying while there was still time its inevitable aspirations".

Hello Babbitt! contains a great deal of interesting historical material on North Africa. It confutes the conclusions of French historians. For instance, Mr. Beshir claims that the Berbers are not and have never constituted a homogeneous race. He maintains that the word Berber is a mere generic term given by the Arabs to "all nations living on the outskirts of the Roman Empire in Africa". The Latin writers, and the Christian Church in Africa, Mr. Beshir maintains, applied it to the inhabitants living on the borders of Mauretania, and the Arabs who came into contact with the North Africans through the Romans adopted this word, but the North Africans never recognized their classification as Berbers — the Berbers called themselves Amazigh or Imazigh, signifying that they were "free" people or people

who controlled their own destiny. They boasted of their descent from the sons of Canaan. Leo the African, writing in the sixteenth century, says that they spoke *Aquel Amariq* (a noble language) and Shebab al-Fasi recalls that the Caliph 'Umar Ibn Khattab said they were the sons of Mazigh. Mr. Beshir aptly describes the efforts of French historians at describing the Berbers as a homogeneous race "... impregnated with the missionary colonialist spirit of Messrs. Marcais, Gsell, Gauthier, General Bremond, Grenière, etc." He maintains that all impartial research students of early North African history must agree that "... neither the Kabyle language nor the Tashelhit language nor the Tamazight language contains, any important after-effects of the languages of their various conquerors apart from Arabic. The extreme poverty of expression of these dialects obliged the North Africans to borrow from the Arabs all abstract words and the words of civilized speech".

The writer gives this as the reason for the small influence of the early conquerors of North Africa on the permanent population. These conquerors did not, he states, know how to combine religion and politics as successfully as the Arabs who in North Africa produced a new physiological and physical relationship between the conquerors and the conquered. He shows that although the "African by way of reaction against the Roman occupier embraced Christianity at a very early date", that although Christianity appeared to flourish in North Africa and although there were many African Christian martyrs, this religion did not "penetrate deeply into the country" and that most of the North Africans jumped from paganism to Islam.

Mr. Beshir quotes Roman authorities to bring out the point that the North Africans had their own written language of apparently Semitic origin, and that the so-called Berbers most likely came from South-West Asia at some very early date and that they were related to the Canaanites and Amalekites, and the people of the Yemen. Thus he champions the cause of the Arabs and of Islam in North Africa, and refutes the European claims that the Berbers are not of the Semitic stock.

These are vital questions and it is high time that the Muslim world spent some money in rewriting the history of North Africa and in destroying once and for all the myth of the European origin of the Berbers and of the imaginary rift which has been patently fostered by the French between the Arabs and the Berbers. Also the idea that the Berbers are only superficially Muslims can easily be disproved. Even the apostles of European imperialism, such as the late Professor Robert Montagne, have been compelled to point out the political and religious tenacity of the Berbers. In this connection it is worth while remembering that the spread of Islam in Spain was due almost entirely to the Berbers; the Arabs often provided the leadership but the conquerors were of North African or Berber origin.

Mr. Beshir makes a legitimate appeal to the people of the United States ('Allal al-Fasi in his introduction distinguishes between the people and the Government of the United States of America, and approves of an appeal to the former). The writer invokes the past liberal history of the earliest years of the United States and rightly states that President Roosevelt encouraged the Sultan of Morocco to aspire to independence.

It is deeply to be regretted that this writer, a sincere North African patriot, should be cut off in his prime. For European critics of his views it should be stated that North African Muslim history, which was revived by the Shaiks Tha'alibi, Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis and Tewfik al-Madani, is likely to overstate its case in order to compensate for its

phill fight against the multitude of European writers who are only too happy to deprecate the efforts of the Muslim historians.

ATLAS OF ISLAMIC HISTORY, by H. W. Hazard. Princeton University Press. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London, 1954. Price 48/-.

This is very important and indispensable atlas first appeared in the year 1951. The very fact that in a short span of three years three editions have seen the light of day is proof not only of its usefulness and importance but also of its great demand. The atlas contains 21 visually perfect maps printed in colour which show the comparative strength of Islam and other religions right throughout the past thirteen centuries of its existence. It also shows territories lost to, or

gained from, Christians, Jews and followers of other religions by Islam.

The maps are accompanied by texts and notes which contain a mine of information which is indispensable for every student of Islam and Islamic history. It also deals with such important subjects as "The Crusades", "The Ottoman Empire," "The Middle East and Far East". Also it gives a very vivid and clear picture of the development of Islam in India, including the creation of Pakistan, Islam in Central Asia, China, South-Eastern Asia, Indonesia, etc.

At the end the author has given a conversion table of dates relating to the Christian and Muslim eras from the beginning of 622 C.E. right up to 1975 C.E. There is a complete index of place names. The size of the atlas is 14½ in. x 11 in. It consists of 50 pages with a stiff binding cover.



THE STATUS OF MUSLIMS IN GERMANY

The Muslim Society in Western Germany,
Achatstrasse 4,
Munich 54, Germany.

Dear Brothers-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'Aleikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatu!

We enclose herewith a self-explanatory letter addressed to the Ministry of Interior of the Federal Republic of Germany.

We would like to explain here the difference between the two mentioned German names, namely, *Körperschaft* and *Gemeinschaft*, used in our petition. The first denotes a juridical recognition of our religion which if granted will give to Islam the same status as the other two recognized religions, Christianity and Judaism, and that we Muslims shall be under the official patronage and care of the Government.

The latter terms denotes nothing more than a mere recognition or registration of an organization by local authorities. This makes our situation very unfavourable and deprives us of the many facilities and privileges afforded the other two religions. Briefly, this means that our religion, Islam, is not yet recognized juridically as a religion but as an organization. There are 8,000 Muslims in Western Germany. This figure includes the 3,000 refugees from Communist countries.

We hope that you will give due consideration to our letter and that you will use your good offices with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and thus help your Muslim brothers in distress in their exile and help in building up a strong status for Islam in Germany. This will give us, as Muslims, a strong stand corresponding to the dignity and importance of our religion.

Yours faithfully,
IBRAHIM GACAOGLU,
President.

The Minister of the Interior,
Federal Republic of Germany,
Bonn.
Sir,

Munich.
3rd September 1954.

Muslim emigrants organized themselves in March 1953, on a religious basis, into our Society, which has for its object the looking after and taking care of the religious affairs and duties of the eight thousand Muslims known to us in Western Germany. We have among our members about seven hundred children, for whose religious education we are responsible before God. We are doing our best to meet all the religious requirements of our members.

Our main office is situated at Munich, and our Society has been recognized as a *Gemeinschaft* by the local German authorities. This makes our position very unfavourable as we are deprived of all the facilities afforded to a *Körperschaft*.

We bring this application to your kind notice hoping that you will give consideration to our request for recognition as a *Körperschaft*.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours faithfully,

IBRAHIM GACAOGLU,
President, the Muslim Society in Western Germany.

* * *

THE VALUE OF PERSONAL CONTACT AND CONDUCT

Animal Management Officer,
Cyrenaica Defence Force,
Benغازi, Libya.

1st December 1954.

Dear Sir,

For many years now I have been a keen admirer of Islam. Having been born a Christian, I was naturally

brought up as such, but when of age, and a soldier overseas, I was then able to distinguish for myself the types of religions in the countries where I was stationed, and found that especially in the Middle East, Muhammad the Prophet excels all others.

I consider that during the last twenty-five years, although I have always respected religions of all creeds and races, I have never given serious thought to my own. I admire Islam, its cult, its architecture (which I think is most beautiful), and the customs and general way of life of Muslims. I have seen service with the army in Transjordan, Egypt, Palestine, Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Syria, the Lebanon and Jebel Druse. Always I have treated all as brothers and sisters, and always I have received hospitality.

Would you, dear Sir, explain to me how I may become one of the Muslim fraternity, so that I may be assured that at last I shall have a religion of my own, and a faith that is sincere.

Yours sincerely, B. R. BATLAY.

* * *

Henley-on-Thames, England.
12th January 1955.

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'alaikum

I would like to assure you of my sincere desire to embrace the Muslim faith, for whilst I have professed to be a Christian for a fair period of time now I have always been in doubt as to whether the Christian approach was the right one to God. And I have searched very diligently for a number of years to try and find the true path to God, but praise be to Him, I have now found it. The Divine inspirational words of Muhammad in *Some of the Sayings of Muhammad* went to my heart, and it was then that I realized that Islam was the truth and the way for me.

During the last war while serving in the regular army, I spent four and a half years in the Middle East, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Tunisia, all predominantly Muslim countries, and I was always impressed that the average Muslim was far more sincere than we who were supposed to be Christians.

I failed to find out much about the Islamic religion while I was there, but the literature you have sent me tallies with a lot of my own particular ideas about spiritual matters. With Christianity there is so much mysticism, and I could never appreciate a lot of the teaching of the Bible, nor could I understand it, but from what I have read I can understand and appreciate much more clearly the teachings of the Qur'an.

Certain beliefs of the Islamic faith, such as "There is but one God, and Muhammad is His Messenger," I fully believe in, as I could never bring myself to believe in what was called the Holy Trinity, three Gods in one; also I have always believed in the fact that the Bible was originally a Holy Book inspired by God; it has along with the Christian faith been subject to a good deal of mistranslation, distortion from the truth, and been "modernized" to suit the ends of religious leaders and denominations, etc.

There are several questions I would like to ask. For instance, should I as a Muslim enter into a Christian church to worship God in the company of Christian friends and relatives, particularly my wife, who is a staunch Christian?

Trusting that you will be able to answer my problems and that you will give me further instructions as to my being admitted as a member of the Islamic Brotherhood.

Yours for Islam,

A. C. H.

PEN PALS

Mr. Kassim B. Othman, c/o District Office, Kota Belud, via Jesselton, Colony of North Borneo, wishes to correspond with friends of either sex. *Interests*: Exchanging stamps and view cards.

Mr. Budrali-Baksh, Esso Service Station, Debe P.O., Trinidad, B.W.I., aged 23 years, wishes to correspond with friends of both sexes. *Interests*: Sports, reading religious books, exchanging cards and pen friendship. Is only able to write in English.

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